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East Europe Report

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AGRICULTURE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

VETERINARIANS AID LPG-VEG COOPERATION IN LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION

Jena MONATSSHEFTE FUER VETERINARMEDIZIN in German Vol 40 No 23, 1985 pp 793-797

[Article by Prof Dr H. Schwedler, Department of Veterinary Services, Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs; Code: State Veterinary Medicine, Socialist Veterinary Service, STGP (Adopted on 10 July 1985)]

[Excerpts] "Summary: Socialist Veterinary Services of the GDR - Developments and Challenge

The government-controlled veterinary group practice had been introduced in the GDR 30 years ago. An account is given of the history of the veterinary profession which had always been closely linked to class and ownership conditions in society. The opening of the first government-controlled veterinary practice on June 1st, 1955, in Leutenberg/Saalfeld District had ushered in a new phase in GDR veterinary services in keeping with progress of society at large. Reference is made to the achievements of the veterinary services in the GDR ever since, with emphasis being laid on the excellent performance of 15,000 people involved. Forthcoming priorities are expounded."

This year, members of the veterinary services of the GDR, together with the cooperative farmers and workers in the agricultural production cooperatives (LPGs) and the state-owned farms (VEGs), are celebrating a memorable result of the agricultural policy of the SED and in the history of our socialist state:

Thirty years ago, on 1 June 1955, the first state-run veterinary group practice in the GDR was founded in Leutenberg, kreis Saalfeld. Thereby a type of veterinary service for livestock production was introduced which corresponds to the socialist production conditions in the countryside.

After socialist agriculture had been strengthened, it was decided to go on to socialist intensification and gradual transition to industrial-type production methods through cooperation, which lead objectively to concentration and increasing specialization also in the area of livestock production. This posed entirely new demands on veterinarians and on veterinary medicine.

At the end of the 1960's, progressive veterinarians both in science and in practice applied their knowledge and know-how to the development and testing of industrial installations of livestock production. Naturally, this step in the development of veterinary medicine was not without conflicts. Yet the subjective reservations against such high animal concentrations--in some countries pejoratively called "animal mass production"--were overcome to the extent that we succeeded increasingly, through scientific solutions and practical testing, in combining construction techniques and animal physiological and hygienic requirements. Design engineers of the VEB agricultural construction project Potsdam, scientists of the research institutes for livestock production of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, scientists of the Institute for Applied Animal Hygiene, veterinary scientists of the Karl Marx University, supported by many experienced farmers and practicing veterinarians; all of them constituted a firm and sworn fraternity which aided in the breakthrough of the development steps which had matured socially and objectively, as formulated by the SED. Today, almost 50 percent of all laying hens, almost all the broilers, and a large part of calves, yearlings, cows and cattle for slaughter, as well as sows, hogs and pigs for slaughter are kept in industrially produced installations where the animals number in four to six figures. These installations achieve significant and stable production performances.

Preventive measures, livestock health control, cleaning and disinfecting regimens and other veterinary medical measures have become developed to such an extent that effective and uninterrupted production can be guaranteed under those conditions if production management, subjective knowledge and know-how as well as strict observance of technological discipline are mastered. The experience garnered in the field of industrialized animal production in the socialist agriculture of the GDR is of great importance internationally. As veterinarians we are proud to have made our contribution to this development.

Applying primarily traditional technologies, a significant process of concentration and specialization in livestock production took place in the LPGs and VEGs, also. Veterinary medicine dealt with these social requirements. Cooperative veterinary work developed and linked itself even more closely with management and planning of livestock production and processing of its products.

While in a state veterinary practice the veterinarian worked alone or with a veterinary technician, a state veterinary group practice developed since the beginning of the 1970's, in which three to six veterinarians work together with an appropriate number of medium-level veterinary specialists such as veterinary engineers and technicians. This promoted significantly the effect of veterinary-medical care of livestock, scientific standards of veterinary measures through collective consultation, division of work and specialization of the veterinarians, and above all, the process of mutual education in the collective in assuming political and professional responsibility. Many managers and veterinarians of the government-run veterinary group practices have become outstanding and recognized

personalities. Each veterinarian in such an establishment has his definite field of work and is responsible for certain LPGs and VEGs under the regional principle.

Integration of the veterinary collective in the installation collective and its management has proven helpful in the case of modern installations of livestock production with high animal concentrations. It ensures close linkage of the production tasks and veterinary measures in accordance with technological requirements and application of scientific-technical progress in livestock production. Cooperation of the veterinarians in managing and preparing the processes, and their share of economic responsibility, have a direct effect. This is also the case where the collective of a state veterinary group practice is assigned exclusively to caring for a modern livestock production installation.

Over-all, by carrying political and economic responsibility, the veterinarians in individual and group state veterinary practices have more and more grown into the tasks of a close cooperation and alliance partner of cooperative farmers and workers, a responsibility firmly set down in the statute and operating rules of the LPGs of animal production, based on the law for agricultural production cooperatives. On the basis of the economic strategy of the SED, veterinarians active in primary animal production must focus on the following points of task fulfillment:

- Increasing foodstuffs and raw material supplies from livestock production, and securing the livestock through comprehensive preventive animal health care, further improvement of production hygiene, perfecting preventive health measures and animal care.
- Reducing production expenditure, lowering animal losses, and avoiding decreases in performance through further increasing the fertility and procreation performance of breeding stock; further increasing the rate of raising young animals through a systematic fight against infectious diseases and livestock epidemics and their elimination as a risk factor of livestock production.
- Making better use of the biological cycle of the animals and animal production, particularly by applying the findings of veterinary medicine to increasing performance per animal.
- Further implementing government order in the area of protecting livestock health against animal epidemics to secure state-owned and cooperative livestock property.

The SED and the government of the GDR have always ensured the development of the veterinary service according to national economic tasks. The development of working and living conditions of veterinarians and other veterinary service personnel has always been promoted with great care. The state and government have always appreciated the work of the veterinary service. Many veterinarians were recognized for extraordinary services with the National Prize, or given the title Meritorious Veterinarian, Chief Veterinary Counselor, Veterinary Counselor, and honored with national decorations.

More than 5,500 veterinary and other university cadres, 2,500 veterinary engineers, 7,000 mid-level veterinary experts and other personnel, a total of about 15,000 employees of the veterinary service, are experienced cooperation and alliance partners of cooperative farmers and workers in livestock production and the foodstuffs industry in implementing the decisions of the party of the working class and the government of the GDR. The veterinary service is a firm component of socialist state power in the GDR.

In the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs and the bezirk and kreis councils there are special organizations of veterinary medicine. They provide

- veterinary care of animals and livestock, above all with the goal of advancing the orderly development and comprehensive intensification of socialist agriculture in the field of livestock production;
- cooperation in guaranteeing our people's health, above all through inspection of slaughter animals and meat, protecting the population from diseases transmittable from animal to man, and from harm caused by products and foodstuffs made from livestock. This also includes preventing harm from foodstuffs coming from spoilage of animals, and influencing improvement of quality and control of these foodstuffs;
- teaching and research in veterinary medicine.

Over 3,000 veterinarians in the field of livestock production work in state-run veterinary group practices and in veterinary departments of VEGs and LPGs. A corresponding number of veterinarians are employed in the veterinary hygiene inspections of the bezirk councils and in the veterinary hygiene services of the foodstuffs combines in the field of veterinary foodstuffs hygiene. In 15 bezirk institutes for veterinary services as well as in the Institute for Veterinary Pharmacology and Toxicology, they are supported by specialists for scientific-diagnostic tasks and special assistance.

Over 43 percent of veterinarians successfully concluded post-graduate university studies as special veterinarians for state veterinary sciences, cattle, hog, sheep, or poultry production, for foodstuffs hygiene, laboratory diagnostics, and for small domestic animals and pets. The tasks of securing and applying veterinary scientific progress are concentrated in four central veterinary institutes (State Institute for Veterinary Medical Testing, State Institute for Epizootic Epidemic Control, Eberswalde Institute for Applied Animal Hygiene, Jena Institute for Research on Bacterial Animal Epidemics). The required number of veterinarians and other specialists is employed in the border veterinary service of the GDR, at the central office of the fish health service and in the bee health service, as well as in the central office for epizootic rabies and wild-life hygiene.

Special tasks are carried out by the central office for standardization in the veterinary service, the central office for innovations in the veterinary service, the veterinary medicine section of the central committee of

experts for the pharmaceutical trade, and the central committee of experts for veterinary instruments and technology.

The Dessau VEB Combine of Veterinary Vaccines has a staff of over 2,200, where production of vaccines, diagnostic aids and other bio-preparations for veterinary medicine is carried out in its main factory Dessau-Tornau as well as in its VEB combine plant "Friedrich-Loeffler-Institut Insel Riems." Efficient research sectors at Dessau and on the Isle of Riems ensure scientific-technical progress in this field. Many top performances were achieved there, and a significant export of vaccines was developed.

Of all veterinaries, 17.2 percent are women. They are employed in all sectors of the veterinary service. The great majority perform outstanding work with strong commitment.

The training of veterinarians is carried out in the field of veterinary medicine at the Karl Marx University of Leipzig and the Humboldt University of Berlin, in the sectors of livestock production and veterinary medicine. The engineering schools for veterinary medicine in Rostock and Beichlingen of the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs train veterinary engineers for employment in veterinary establishments of livestock production, in the foodstuffs industry, and in laboratory diagnostics.

The Scientific Society for the Veterinary Service of the GDR, of which almost all veterinarians and about 90 percent of veterinary engineers are members, is in charge of the government-controlled continued education of specialized veterinary personnel. In 1984, a total of 13,623 specialized personnel received continued training within the framework of 207 scientific events held by the presidium, 9 expert commissions and 5 study groups. This also includes obligatory rotational extended training of veterinarians and specialized veterinarians.

The GDR veterinary service cooperates closely with the veterinary services and establishments of veterinary research of the USSR and the other socialist countries. In all important tasks to be tackled, there exists a stable and effective bilateral and multilateral cooperation on the basis of government agreements. Consultations among the managers of the veterinary services of the member states of CEPA ensures cooperation in strategic questions of development of the veterinary service. There exist government agreements with capitalist countries such as Austria, Italy, the FRG, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark on cooperation in the area of veterinary service.

Of special importance to us is the cooperation in the International Office for Livestock Epidemics, in which 106 countries cooperate to avoid and fight animal epidemics, give impulses to scientific-technical progress in this area, and internationally standardize diagnostic methods and bio-compounds.

Over-all, the GDR has an efficient and effective veterinary service, which is directed uniformly and universally in all its sectors by the Minister for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs through the veterinary-medical special section (director of the veterinary service). The veterinary service of the GDR enjoys a high international reputation. Today, the veterinary service of the GDR is even in the position of being able to offer international help to other countries, among them the People's Republic of Mongolia, the Republic of Cuba, Angola, and other African and Arab states.

Together with the cooperative farmers and workers of the agricultural and foodstuffs industry, and together with the entire working population, the members of the GDR veterinary service are preparing for the 11th SED Party Congress through new initiatives for the general strengthening of their worker-and-peasant state.

In the veterinary service, also, the goals of socialist competition in honor of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people from Nazi barbarism were achieved and exceeded almost everywhere through politically responsible work and expert knowledge, supported by performance comparisons and the struggle for outstanding results.

At the veterinary congress of the GDR in 1984, members of the veterinary service discussed with Comrade Werner Felte, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and with Comrade Bruno Lietz, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs, how they will contribute to performance growth and increased economic power in the GDR, and thus will support the securing of peace in accordance with the coordinated policy of the socialist community of states.

What tasks will we focus on in the work of the veterinary service during the coming period?

--We have to work with all our strength and persistence to further increase the results in raising young animals and to continue to reduce the losses in livestock due to death, sickness and emergency slaughter, and to keep it always at a minimum. This is the most visible expression of a high standard of livestock health in accordance with technological conditions, and has a great effect on the comprehensive intensification of livestock production.

--Reliable protection of valuable livestock in the LPGs and VEGs against epidemics and other dangers is of equal importance. Much has been achieved by securing stables and installations and increasing the impact of diagnostics and disinfection. The last meeting of the International Office of Livestock Epidemics clearly pointed out the growing danger of livestock epidemics in Europe, particularly with reference to African and classical hog cholera, foot-and-mouth disease, Aujeszky disease, and lung disease of cattle. Everywhere, we must strive for an even more persistent attitude toward protecting our livestock. Every measure of efficiency and re-

construction in livestock production must be combined with the guarantee of high standards in livestock epidemic protection.

--We must purposefully eliminate from livestock production certain livestock epidemics and infectious diseases as a production risk and cause of loss, as we succeeded earlier in the case of cattle tuberculosis, brucellosis, and infestation of cattle with warble fly larvae.

By the 11th SED Party Congress, we must succeed in freeing our hog herds from Aujeszky disease, transmittable gastroenteritis, clinical dysentery and leptospirosis. The fight must be continued against leucosis and other udder diseases causing great losses. The fight against salmonellosis in livestock production must be continued persistently through hygiene and vaccination measures. Important scientific work must be carried out in order to comprehensively eliminate other infections and diseases and to noticeably reduce the sickness rate of livestock.

--Together with livestock production institutions, we must strive for a further increase in effectiveness of artificial insemination as the dominant breeding method in cattle and hog production. It is an important basis for embryo implantation which further accelerates breeding progress, and for which we now jointly prepare the prerequisites in all cattle breeding centers.

--Further progress must be made in the field of diagnostic technology, the development of efficient methods of livestock health control, and further mechanization and automation of veterinary service processes. Although expenditures of the veterinary service were generally favorable, particularly due to expansion of significant preventive measures in livestock health care, a further increase in work productivity of the veterinary service itself is needed, i.e., a necessary increase in intensity of veterinary cooperation in livestock production.

--The government-controlled veterinary service and veterinary group practices will continue to be the determining organizational form of veterinary service in our republic. Greatest care and conscientiousness must be exercised in the collection and generalization of experiences, such as how the cooperation of veterinarians in the division-of-labor process of management and preparation of livestock production can be further increased and their responsibility expanded. This intensified work with the managing boards of the LPGs, the managements of VEGs, and the cooperation councils must above all be used to increase preventive treatment for animal health and performance.

This defines the development, goal and content of the work of the veterinary service as a firm component of the SED's agricultural and alliance policy.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the government-controlled veterinary group practices, many veterinarians and other staff of the veterinary service, having co-created this development successfully and

over many years, will be honored with certificates or state awards. This will enrich the socialist tradition of the veterinary service. It is both an incentive and an obligation to support with even greater commitment and effectiveness the cooperative farmers and workers of the LPGs, VEGs, in the combines of the foodstuffs industry and in other areas, in their responsible task of ensuring the food supply for all our people and achieving further performance and quality progress in honor of the 11th Party Congress of the SED.

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ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION SYMPOSIUM

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Nov 85 p 1

[Article: "East-West Economic Cooperation Symposium in Warsaw"]

[Text] The eighth symposium, the first to be held in Poland, of the Austrian-French meetings, East-West, closed in Warsaw. Poland and Hungary were participants. The symposium attracted approximately 130 educators and banking representatives from all four countries. Under discussion were problems of monetary policies, level and basis for setting prices and manifestations of inflation as well as the effect of these factors on economic conditions that prevail between socialist and capitalist countries.

The problem of prices in socialist countries and the effect of their levels on trade was a subject of broad discussion. Problems of monetary prospects were discussed in the same way. An exchange of views indicated that strong government interventionism has been noted in these areas in western countries also. The matter of overcoming inflation and its consequences for international trade conditions was also considered.

The participation of so many representatives of banking circles from both France and Austria indicates an increased interest in cooperation of those governments with Poland. Participants in the symposium had the opportunity to meet with the minister of foreign trade, Andrzej Wojcik, and with the minister of foreign affairs, Marian Orzechowski.

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CSO: 2600/175

ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EAST-WEST TRADE DEALS REPORTED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 47, 23 Nov 85 p 14 supplement POLITYKA EKSPORT IMPORT No 22, Nov 85

[Article: "East-West"]

[Text] HUNGARY-GREAT BRITAIN: C. R. Braybrooke (Great Britain) and Magyar Huetoepari (Hungary) concluded a joint venture agreement to sell and market Hungarian frozen fruits, vegetables and other "green" branch products in Great Britain. To increase sales, introduction of new products such as frozen cabbage, asparagus and pizza sauces has been proposed. C. R. Braybrooke has managed an agency selling Hungarian products for many years.

GREAT BRITAIN-BULGARIA: The British firm, Precision Air Control, Eden bridge, will install a climate control system consisting of two central ventilators and three climate control units in a newly constructed Bulgarian printing plant. The new printing plant, equipped with the most modern polygraphic facilities procured mainly from Great Britain, was funded by the Ludmila Ziolkowa International Foundation.

ROMANIA-BURKINA FASO: Romania recently confirmed its interest in participating in extending credit and in priority investments in Burkina Faso, including the construction of the Sahelian rail line, a manganese mine in Tambao, and cultivation of 500 ha of irrigated desert land in Sourou. The first binding agreements in this matter were concluded during the most recent meeting of the joint commission in Ouagadougou, the capitol of Burkina Faso.

YUGOSLAVIA-GREAT BRITAIN: The Yugoslavian electronics enterprise, El, signed a long-term agreement with the British firm, Rank Xerox, on the production in Yugoslavia of all types of copying machines. Production cooperation between the two firms is to develop gradually beginning with the first quarter of 1985 so that in 7 years, the value of the mutual product exchange might reach the £6.7 million quota.

HUNGARY-U.S.A.: The first lot of 15 tons of Hungarian salami found its way from New Jersey to the American market through the mediation of Universal Foods Corporation. The introduction of this traditional Hungarian smoked meat product to this market was preceded by an intensive advertising cam-

paign organized by Universal Foods and the Hungarian Terimpex. The export of salami to the U.S.A. may soon reach a volume of 100-150 tons annually.

GREAT BRITAIN-CZECHOSLOVAKIA: The glass factory in the Teplice area ordered a complete control system for its production line from the British firm, Kent Process Control. The cost of the equipment is £750,000.

YUGOSLAVIA-JAPAN: During the next 5 years, the Yugoslavian producer of baby foods, Juvitana, plans to export products to Japan worth a total of \$20 million. The Japanese firm, Wellestone Enterprise Co. Ltd., will handle the sale of 11 types of baby foods on the Japanese market.

FINLAND-USSR: The Finnish construction firm in Helsinki, YIT, received an order for work on enlarging the exposition area of the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. The contract includes alterations in an area of more than 10,000 m² and supplying and installing whole units of technical equipment. The new installation will be ready for visitors in October, 1987. The contract is worth 100 million Finnish markkas.

YUGOSLAVIA-U.S.A.: The export of Yugoslavian wine to the U.S.A. increased threefold, reaching \$1.5 million. The specialists believe that the reasons for this commercial success are the larger assortment of Yugoslavian wines available and more advertising. Yugoslavia exports \$5 million worth of wine annually.

SWITZERLAND-HUNGARY: The Swiss concern, Sulzer, opened an office in Budapest to promote its technology and equipment on the Hungarian market, mainly for the chemical and textile industry. At the same time, Sulzer is buying Hungarian electrical equipment to be installed in Swiss plants.

USSR-FINLAND: These countries signed an agreement in Helsinki to cooperate on environmental protection. The basic points of the agreement include joint resolution of problems dealing with rational use of natural resources and expanding measures to decrease pollution of air, water and soil and conserve flora and fauna. Plans were made to standardize methods of studying and monitoring the environment. This is the first international agreement of this type between Finland and the government of another country.

USSR-ARGENTINA: Mashpriborintorg, the USSR central office for foreign trade, signed an agreement with the government of Mendoza Province to provide meteorological instruments worth 1.3 million rubles. The instruments are expected to arrive in Argentina this year.

HUNGARY-SWEDEN: Hungarotex and Inetinvest, two Hungarian enterprises involved in foreign trade and promotion, and the Swedish firm, Moelnycke Consumer Products, established a new enterprise in Budapest with initial funding of 100 million forints. The shares of the firms are 34, 17, 49 percent respectively. Beginning next year, the new firm, Sancelia Hungary Co. Ltd., will produce disposable diapers. Of this production, 3/4 will go to the Hungarian market, and 1/4 will be exported.

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CSO: 2600/175

6 March 1986

ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FURTHER REPORT ON EAST-WEST TRADE DEALS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 51/52, 21-28 Dec 85 p 23 supplement POLITYKA EKSPORT IMPORT No 25, Dec 85

[Article: "East-West"]

[Text] WEST BERLIN-USSR: Berlin-Consult GmbH, a West German engineering enterprise, received an order from the USSR to build a factory in Zaporozhe, Ukraine, to produce magnetic heads for tape recorders at a rate of 880,000 units annually. The factory is to begin production in 1987. This is the second factory of this type that Berlin-Consult GmbH will build in the USSR. The cost of the contract is 32 million marks.

YUGOSLAVIA-AUSTRIA: The Yugoslav bank, Yugobank of Belgrade, concluded an agreement with the Genossenschaftliche Zentralbank A. G. in Vienna for granting credits to Yugoslavs working temporarily in Austria. Those Yugoslav workers who have open savings accounts in Yugobank will have access to credits. Individual credit will range from 10,000 to 500,000 schillings and will be granted according to conditions prevalent in Austria.

AUSTRIA-CZECHOSLOVAKIA: An Austrian information office of the firm, Festo-Maschinenfabrik GmbH, opened recently at the Polytechnicum in Koszyce. A series of lectures and exhibitions on construction and installation of pneumatic control systems and measuring equipment will take place at this center. The purpose of the seminars is to increase technical knowledge concerning pneumatic control systems, which, in the opinion of representatives of the Austrian firm, will lead to increasing Czechoslovakian orders for Festo products.

ROMANIA-THAILAND: Both countries recently signed two separate trade agreements. The first is a 3-year agreement that requires Romania to provide Thailand with agricultural machinery, tractors, artificial fertilizers, wine and alcohol in exchange for tapioca, rice, sugar and other agricultural products. The second, a 5-year agreement, pertains to exchange of similar goods, but extends the kinds of commercial goods supplied by Romania. Thailand will act as middleman in the sale of crude oil to Romania. The total value of both agreements is \$260 million.

USSR-GREECE: Following a series of conferences, representatives of both countries signed an agreement for the joint construction of an aluminum

plant to be located near the Greek city of Delphi, 160 km west of Athens. Construction is to begin early in 1986 and will take 5 years. At full capacity, the aluminum plant will produce 600,000 tons of aluminum annually, of which 380,000 tons will be supplied to the USSR. The technical plans of the entire investment enterprise were developed by USSR specialists. The final agreement for joint construction was reached after 6 years of discussions in which the partners worked out the details of the undertaking. The value of this investment is \$480 million. Discussions between Bulgaria and Greece concerning a long-term agreement for the purchase of significant amounts of aluminum from Greece are in progress. This country has documented bauxite deposits amounting to 100 million tons.

HUNGARY-AUSTRIA: Vasert, a network of stores selling domestic articles, opened a new division in Budapest in which it will be possible to buy products of the firm, Kludi, (mainly bathroom fittings) for forints. The Austrian firm has cooperated for many years with Hungarian enterprises that supply parts and semi-manufactured products to the Vasert affiliate in Hornstein; the value of the cooperative exchanges during 13 years of mutual cooperation between Hungarian enterprises and Kludi amounted to 1.2 billion schillings. Finally, cooperative agreements were extended for 5 years; during this time mutual exchange of goods will amount to 700 million schillings.

JAPAN-USSR: The Soviet office, Technointorg, ordered a lot of 130 knitting machines from the Japanese manufacturer, Chori Co. Ltd., to be supplied to the USSR as early as in 1985.

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ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON CEMA INTEGRATION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Nov 85 p 2

[Article by A. S.: "Economic Integration of CEMA Countries, Seventh International Student Seminar"]

[Text] The seventh international student seminar, "Economic Integration of CEMA Countries," opened in Warsaw on 27 November in the Main School of Planning and Statistics. These seminars are usually organized every second year. Participating in the seminar that opened yesterday are delegates of all socialist countries, students from Switzerland and Finland and representatives of developing countries who are studying in Poland. In addition to the students, educators and representatives of the economy and of Polish foreign trade enterprises are also participating. The minister of foreign trade, Andrzej Wojcik, is the honorary sponsor of the seminar.

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ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ITALIAN FIRMS EXPLOIT OPENINGS IN YUGOSLAV MARKET

Milan ESPANSIONE in Italian in January 1986 publishes on pages 149 and 152 an article by Luigi Orescano entitled "Yugoslavia: A More Aligned Import." The article focuses on Italian-Yugoslav industrial joint ventures in footwear, machinery, chemical products, fabrics, automobiles, etc. Due to Yugoslavia's negative trade balance of payments, Italian firms often rely on countertrade through specialized firms representing Yugoslav trade groups and working as middlemen. The article includes a list of some of the main trading firms operating in Italy for Yugoslavia. For the text of Orescano's article, see pages 143-146 of the WEST EUROPE REPORT JPRS-WER-86-018 of 19 February 1986.

CSO: 3528/62

ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ITALIAN PRESS ON OBSTACLES TO TRADE WITH BALKAN COUNTRIES

Milan ESPANSIONE in Italian in January 1986 publishes on pages 152-153 an article by Sergio Luciano entitled "The Balkans Are Beautiful When You Manage to Sell." The article cites Bulgaria's and Romania's growing interest in Italian products. Trade with Romania, however, has been hampered by Romanian problems with payments, delivery of goods, and quality of product. Trade with Bulgaria, which has suffered from recent political issues, has begun to recover only this year. Luciano focuses on the difficulties in trading with both Romania and Bulgaria, but states that countertrade in Bulgaria is declining. Also according to Luciano, machinery and technology could be the most promising sector for Italian industry in Romania. The article provides a list of some of the main commercial intermediary companies in Italy that operate with Bulgaria and Romania. For the full text of Luciano's article, see page 147 of the WEST EUROPE REPORT JPRS-WER-86-018 of 19 February 1986.

CSO: 3528/62

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FOREIGN TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS NOTED

Prague ZAHRANICNI OBCHOD in Czech No 8, 1985 pp 2-6

[Text] Foreign trade in agricultural products in all economically developed countries, and in the international context as well, possesses certain specifics which set it apart from other groups of commodities in international trading. These distinctive features are determined not only by the biological nature of the traded products and the place food holds within the structure of necessities, but above all by the modified, administrative systems governing agriculture, an increasing turning away from market relations, and the creation of more or less independent agricultural, agricultural-food processing, or agricultural-industrial complexes in individual countries or groups of countries.

This unique position of agricultural and food production is often intensified by the impact of international trade in agricultural products.

The Czechoslovak foreign trade in agricultural products also has a number of unique features--in comparison with other groups of exported and imported goods--and taking them into consideration is one of the necessary conditions for achieving an optimum long-range development of the participation of our agricultural-food complex in the international division of labor.

The position of agricultural products in the Czechoslovak foreign trade can be described as amounting to roughly a 4 percent share of the total export and about an 11 percent share of the total import during recent years. In conformity with the developments on the worldwide scale, the share of foodstuffs and agricultural products in the total turnover is decreasing. Nonetheless, during the initial 3 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan the average turnover was 230 percent higher than in 1960.

Table 1. Czechoslovak Foreign Trade in Agricultural Products (in million Kcs fco)

Year	Value of Export	Index	Value of Import	Index	Value of balance in mil Kcs fco	Index
1960	943	100	4,158	100	-3,161	100
1970	1,209	128	6,071	146	-8,463	154
1980	3,876	411	12,914	311	-9,038	286
1981	3,790	402	12,523	301	-8,733	276
1982	3,879	411	13,115	315	-9,242	292
1983	3,461	367	11,758	283	-8,297	262

Definition by items in CEMA classification

8--foodstuffs

7--raw materials for food processing

6--livestock on the hoof

58--fodder, concentrated and in bulk

55--seeds and seedlings

59, 102--artificial gut (cutisin and viscose gut)

510--plant fibers

511--wool

530--raw materials for tanning and leather

56--ether oils, exotic resins, medicinal and technical healthcare raw materials (of plant origin)

57--fats and oils for technical purposes (of animal and plant origin)

590--bristles, animal hair and other raw materials of animal origin

Note: A passive balance, with regard to the proportions of imports and exports, reflected, in those years when prices of agricultural products were rising, this fact even when the physical volume of import and export was changed significantly.

A positive feature of the long range development is a faster growth of exports in comparison with the growth of imports, resulting in a higher defrayal of imports by exports. While during the Fifth 5-Year Plan such defrayal amounted to 20 percent, during the initial 3 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan it reached 30 percent. The dynamic growth of agricultural production and food production, which is manifest in the substantially increased degree of self-sufficiency of Czechoslovakia in agricultural production of the temperate zone, is not, however, fully reflected by a decline of the deficit balance in foreign trade in this branch. This is the result of certain structural changes in imports and exports. The deficit balance, the reduction of which is one of the basic goals of our agricultural complex (ZPoK), has actually been stagnating for the last several years. In comparison with 1970, it has been 80 percent higher during the initial 3 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

On the whole, one can characterize the development of foreign trade in agricultural products and foodstuffs as permanently passive, with long range higher dynamics of exports as compared to imports, while during the last 5

years there has been a visible stagnation in the growth of foreign trade balance in this sector, with the volume of the passive balance remaining unchanged overall.

Considering the fact that in the total value of imports of the Czechoslovak agricultural-food complex are included also non-competitive products and agricultural raw materials of non-food nature--and their share has been increasing significantly--the quantified degree of defrayal of imports by exports and the passive balance cannot be considered to be indicative of the self-sufficiency in the basic kinds of foods. Were the quantification made only for products of the temperate zone, the degree of defrayal of imports by exports during the last several years would amount to roughly 49-55 percent.

Non-essential categories of goods in foreign trade are not altogether appropriate for quantifying groups of products of the temperate zone and non-competitive products, or rather to define "basic foodstuffs." Similarly, a methodical delimitation of products of the agricultural-food complex does not enable us to sufficiently extrapolate the proper foods and alimentary raw materials out of the total production of the branches, or its foreign trade. To explain the development and changes in the composition of Czechoslovak imports and exports, or the disparity between the growth in self-sufficiency and an inadequate decline of the foreign trade deficit in agricultural products, one can point to the typical changes in the product mix in imports and exports.

It is obvious that typical for the product mix of imports of foodstuffs and food raw materials is the decline of the share of basic food commodities, i.e., grains, meat, oil plants and oils, and milk products (the import of those fell between 1970 and 1982 to 6 percent), while on the other hand the share of non-competitive items rose considerably, comprising mostly fodder--such as oily groats, oil-cakes, or fishmeal--coffee, cocoa, tea, and fruits and vegetables--specifically citrus fruit.

Table 2. Development of the Product Mix of Agricultural Imports
(shares of products groups in values fco in the total value of imports of the Czechoslovak agricultural complex in percent)

<u>Group</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
Grains	27.1	20.4	16.0	15.4	15.3	7.9	9.6	6.3
Meat and fattened								
cattle (1)	11.6	6.8	9.9	3.1	3.5	2.6	2.7	6.3
Fodder (2)	1.3	5.7	3.5	8.3	10.8	12.6	9.4	10.0
Oil seeds (3)	10.9	10.0	8.2	5.0	2.4	3.1	5.0	4.5
Fruits and								
vegetables (4)	2.1	4.4	5.0	14.7	15.5	18.0	16.7	15.7
Coffee, cocoa, tea	2.7	2.7	4.8	7.5	7.4	5.9	5.2	5.9
Total share of above								
mentioned groups	55.7	50.0	47.4	54.0	54.9	50.1	48.6	45.9

Explanatory notes:

(1)--sub-groups 719, i.e., fattened cattle on the hoof and sub-group 800, i.e., meat and canned meats, smoked meat products, killed poultry.

(2)--group 58, i.e., concentrated and bulk fodder

(3)--sub-groups 720, oil seeds and fruits and sub-group 841, edible vegetable oils

(4)--sub-group 83, fruits, vegetables, berries and other fruits.

The implementation of nutritional policy in Czechoslovakia, which rests among other things on the improvement of the composition of nutrition, where the weak link is the excessive caloric intake and an insufficient provision of needed vitamin C, led to an improvement in supplying the domestic market with fruits and vegetables, also by means of imports. The low level of self-sufficiency in fruits and vegetables became apparent in the composition of exports of this branch by a marked increase of the share of this group, the change having been caused by higher import prices. At the beginning of the Seventh 5-Year Plan the physical volume of imports of tropical fruits was five times that of 1960, but the average price per ton was more than triple. Fruits and vegetables became the largest group of imports of all the agricultural foreign trade.

There have been however, other changes in the structure of imports, and they are the reason for the insufficient reduction of the deficit balance and to a certain degree obscure the positive results achieved in the growth of self-sufficiency in basic kinds of foods. They concern primarily the increase in the value of imported agricultural non-food commodities, mostly wool, plant fibers, raw materials for tanning and leather. In the composition of imports of the branch in 1983, wool accounted for 5.6 percent, raw materials for tanning and leather 6.7 percent, and plant fibers for as much as 13.8 percent of the total value. This high percentage is the result of a significant increase of import prices.

Whereas, then, during the Fourth 5-Year Plan the determining import commodities of the Czechoslovak agricultural complex were grains, meat and meat products, an oil seeds, in the initial years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan the focus of imports of the branch has been in fruits and vegetables, plant fibers, raw materials for tanning and leather, and albuminous fodder. The increase in self-sufficiency in agricultural products of the temperate zone is, on the other hand, reflected in a continuing decline of some previously dominant import groups, some of which have even become at the present time viable items of the branch export. The fulfillment of the pivotal task of our agricultural complex, decreed by the 15th and the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, namely achieving self-sufficiency in the production of grains and improving self-sufficiency in the basic kinds of foods, is therefore significantly reflected in the product mix of both imports and exports, while its impact on passive foreign trade is, from the viewpoint of the total concept of our external relations, positive, the situation in the active foreign trade being by no means quite as clear-cut. The changes in the composition of agricultural exports are basically the result of two causes. The first one, closely connected with the growth of self-sufficiency,

lies in the rapid development of domestic animal production, accompanied by parallel growth in, and modernization of appropriate capacities of, the food processing industry; also lead time in animal over plant production, resulting in overstocks of animal products that indicate cutbacks in production. The other lies in the reduction of export activity in the so-called traditional export commodities, overwhelmingly those of plant origin, as a result of markedly slower modernization and an inadequate expansion of the capacities of corresponding export branches of the food industry, resulting from a slower rate of growth of labor productivity not only in the area of raw materials of plant origin, but also in the final processing branches. The outcome of these parallel trends then is a change in the export product mix of our agricultural complex, the rationality of which is debatable.

Table 3. Development of the Product Mix of Czechoslovak Agricultural Exports (shares of the product groups in fco values in the total value of imports of the Czechoslovak agricultural-food complex in percent)

Group	1960	1965	1970	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Meat (1)	5.0	11.5	11.2	11.8	11.3	16.3	18.7	14.6
Sugar	21.4	19.4	15.0	10.3	23.6	11.6	4.9	5.4
Beer	4.3	2.9	6.5	12.2	9.6	11.5	11.3	12.2
Malt	13.6	13.3	13.0	9.1	9.4	8.2	8.0	8.2
Fruit and Vegetables (2)	3.0	5.7	7.6	7.3	7.2	8.5	5.4	7.3
Dairy products (3)	1.9	2.0	4.1	7.0	5.5	7.3	7.0	9.1
Hops	5.1	7.3	8.3	7.0	6.3	5.0	6.7	7.1

Explanatory notes:

(1)--sub-group 800 of CEMA classification, meat, meat products, smoked meat products and killed poultry

(2)--group 83, fruits, vegetables, berries and other fruits

(3)--sub-group 802, milk products exclusive of butter

In the 1960's the share of traditional key commodities, that is raw brewery materials, beer and sugar, represented 45 percent of Czechoslovak agricultural exports, in the Fourth and Fifth 5-Year Plans still roughly 43 percent, but at the beginning of the Seventh 5-Year Plan not quite 33 percent. On the other hand, dairy products and meat (in the 1960-1970 period the net-import group) have been used in the Czechoslovak exports of the agricultural complex at the beginning of the period up to about 7 percent, in the 1970's already up to 15 percent, and in the Seventh 5-Year Plan just these two groups of animal products amounted to about 25 percent of the total export. All animal products (including butter, eggs, fattened cattle, etc.) represented more than 38 percent of the Czechoslovak exports of this branch in 1983. At the same time, their export has been directed mostly to developed non-socialist countries. In the total active foreign trade with these countries the share of animal products in the first 3 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan has been more than 48 percent.

These trends in the changing of the composition of exports cannot be considered desirable, especially because they are having a negative impact on the overall economic profitability of the foreign trade of the branch, and are weakening the specialized profile of the participation of the Czechoslovak agricultural complex in the international division of labor. Animal products, which are part of our export assets, are produced with the help of fodder which we import, and the greatest part of the imported fodder we use comes from the area of non-socialist countries. Even though we have been successful in cutting the share of imported fodder per unit of animal production, the encumbrance of our animal production by imported raw materials has been considerably higher than in the case of the traditional export assets of plant origin. More than that, our animal production, in comparison with plant production, is less effective in the area of agricultural production according to the standards of the developed countries. Studies done during the past 6 years, with the aim of expressing labor productivity in individual branches by means of assumed world prices, proceeding, similarly as other analyses, from price relations of domestic producer prices, evince the considerably higher differences in labor productivity in comparison with the developed countries in animal production and lesser difference in plant production. (Footnote 1)

And finally, indicators of economic effectiveness in the long-range average also confirm the lower profitability of the Czechoslovak exports of most animal products in comparison with traditional plant products. The specific problem of the absolute growth of our export of animal products is also its territorial structure and absorption of its products into purchasing markets resulting therefrom.

The weakening of the specialized profile of our agricultural exports as a consequence of the above mentioned trends, is evident not only within the framework of our participation in CEMA, but also within the Czechoslovak agricultural complex itself. Branches which have been oriented particularly toward exports show a weakening in that direction and branches oriented in the past almost exclusively to the domestic market are tending toward exports.

Footnote 1). The coefficients of the relationship between world assumed prices with the purchase prices of Czechoslovak plant and animal production, used for a schematic illustration of the comparison of the level of labor productivity, were in the case of plant production in 1977 0.6514 up to 0.7386, while in the case of animal production they reached the value of 0.4428 up to 0.5263. A lower coefficient signals a greater difference between world assumed prices and Czechoslovak purchase prices, or wholesale prices. (Tucek, P.: Relations of world assumed prices and purchase prices in animal and plant production in 1977-1982, established with the assistance of principal representatives of CSR agricultural production. Study of VUSPR, Bratislava, 1984).

Table No 4. Changes in the Share of Exports in Total Czechoslovak Production of Selected Commodities (in percent)

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>1968-1970</u>	<u>1971-1975</u>	<u>1976-1980</u>	<u>1981-1982</u>
Refined sugar	31.3	26.6	23.8	20.1
Malt	43.8	40.9	40.2	38.3
Hops	57.8	63.3	64.0	56.3
Beer	4.4	5.6	9.3	8.9
Meat and Meat Products	2.2	1.7	1.9	3.8
Dairy Products	2.2	2.6	4.8	5.4

These changes also bring about consequences in the area of productions, planning, and investment activities. Through the increase in the export of animal products, which is oriented predominantly toward the developed non-socialist countries in Europe, we are further increasing the volume of deliveries of CEMA member countries to that market, which, in the given commodities, is and undoubtedly will be overextended. Even though our share of exports of meat and meat products to the countries in question is thus far not significant, this trend should not be considered as merely conjectural in the long run.

Table No 5. Share of Meat and Fattened Cattle in the Total Agricultural Import by Selected Countries of the European CEMA Countries (Percent of value in dollars)

a) share of import from European CEMA countries including USSR

<u>Importing countries</u>	<u>1976-78</u>	<u>1979-81</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
German Federal Republic	27.0	36.9	32.4	48.0	49.5
France	39.3	28.2	36.3	28.6	49.5
Italy	68.6	57.7	75.0	50.3	55.1
Great Britain	25.6	15.5	18.5	10.7	10.5

b) share of import from European CEMA countries excluding USSR

German Federal Republic	33.7	44.7	39.2	59.3	61.3
France	66.5	49.5	63.7	53.7	40.0
Italy	80.1	78.2	84.8	64.0	65.1
Great Britain	46.0	27.3	30.4	21.8	20.2

Le Commerce European Des Produits Agricoles, Economic Commission for Europe, No ECE/AGRI 77.

The high share of a single commodity groups--meat and fattened cattle--in the transfer of goods of agricultural type from the European CEMA countries to

West European countries points out the inadequate diversification of agricultural exports and indicates ensuing risks. An interesting aspect of this specialization is the fact that in most countries of Western Europe plant products predominate in their own agricultural exports. From a certain point of view, export of animal products could be considered economically desirable, inasmuch as they have a higher finalization with a higher added value in comparison with plant products. Most of the West European countries nevertheless assign a lesser share to animal products in the composition of their agricultural exports, even countries with a high level of livestock breeding and state of the art parameters in this type of production, as well as countries with a high degree of self-sufficiency in animal production. As an example one can cite the German Federal Republic, with a 42.5 percent share of animal products in its total agricultural export, Belgium--37.0 percent, France--30.2 percent, the Netherlands--43.2 percent, and Great Britain--merely 28.9 percent in 1981. Even if the generally followed trends, that is to export final products having a higher share of domestic labor, lead under optimum conditions to a more effective foreign trade, one cannot universally apply this tendency also to all products of an agricultural nature. In certain instances, products with a higher degree of processing tend to accumulate ex price instruments of defrayal (various subsidies), which happens comparatively often in practically all the developed countries. From the point of view of the exporting country, then, the export of agricultural raw materials and semi-finished products could be more advantageous, considering the lower share of interventions, grants, and other government ex-cost instruments expended on them. Obviously, what concerns us here is the specific approach of individual countries toward the financing of agriculture, or of the food processing industry, and the level of attainable prices. Despite that, it is also necessary to take this characteristic feature of agricultural production and export into consideration when formulating the concept of the product mix of our foreign trade in agriculture.

The question of the product mix of our exports is closely tied to the economic effectiveness of the integration of the agricultural-food complex into the international division of labor. The economic profitability of the export of food and agricultural products is connected directly on one hand with the extent of the differences between the development of costs and the development of prices, that is to say, with the degree of governmental influence on the economic procedures in the sphere of food production in countries which determine through their participation the situation in international markets, and on the other hand with comparable specific features of the agricultural-food complex in our national economy.

Not considering the demonstrable fact, that the populations in tens of developing countries are starving, that on the worldwide scale there is a long-term shortage of the basic kinds of foods, and that from the viewpoint of insufficient supplies in a number of countries the theoretical potential for marketing exportable agricultural goods is growing, economically advantageous marketing of determining basic agricultural commodities is increasingly becoming a problem for most of the exporting countries. The reasons for this trend, which has been growing stronger lately, rest mostly in the following factors:

--a number of formerly importing countries are striving to increase self-sufficiency in basic nutritional categories. At the same time, for strategic reasons they are energetically pursuing a build-up of their own agriculture and food processing industries, even when the costs of their domestic production exceed several times those of the potential costs of corresponding import. To this category belong primarily many countries of the Middle and Near East, North African countries and important exporters of crude oil, but also some countries in South America;

--the self-sufficiency of countries in Western Europe is rising dramatically, they are increasingly more active as exporters of agricultural and food products. In certain non-traditional commodities, the self-sufficiency of Far Eastern countries is also on the rise. The largest importing countries are emphasizing priority development of their domestic agricultural production, and the results, even at the cost of a considerable burdening of state budgets, show up not only as restrictions of imports, but often as exports of surpluses of basic agricultural products;

--growth of self-sufficiency is being very vigorously pursued in socialist countries, particularly in CEMA member countries. Exports show parallel increases, not only in the CEMA framework, but also to the markets of developed non-socialist countries and developing countries;

--stagnating and falling prices on the international markets of certain important commodities, caused by concurrent good harvests and small increases in consumption resulting from economic crises in non-socialist countries, and consequent losses in imports, are being compensated for by some agricultural countries increasing production and coincidentally increasing their export supplies, by which they further compound the weakening of prices (sugar, grains);

--the ineffectiveness and repeated break-downs of certain measures on the worldwide scale to regulate production or exports (wine, sugar, grains, hops);

--high indebtedness of a number of importing countries, particularly developing ones, which leads to an inability to pay, and therefore to a restriction of imports.

Among the mentioned circumstances, the one that stands out is the nature of agricultural production, given its biological nature and the limitation of structural changes, very limited possibilities for improvements, above-average costs of storage, climatically determined range of products and other circumstances restricting the flexibility of production and ability to adapt more quickly to external circumstances, and thus also to the situation on the international markets.

The focus of the problem of the profitability of exports or agricultural products lies nevertheless in the disparity of prices on the international markets, the domestic prices structures, and the average worldwide or regional costs of agricultural or food processing production. Various forms

of support for agriculture and food processing out of state budgets, interventions, grants, and other forms of subsidies given in individual countries to agriculture at various stages of the vertical food processing production ladder--from pre-production stages up to end products for the foreign trade--make it difficult to map out and identify the composition of costs and other economic categories necessary for comparison and consequent decisions. The agricultural policies in most of the developed and in many developing countries, motivated by social, political, ecological, and other considerations, lead to the creation of more or less artificial price levels in the production of food, and funds provided out of state budgets to support exports keep distorting to a constantly greater degree the natural reflection of costs in prices on the international market. This complicates the possibility of achieving comparable advantages on the basis of lower production costs in comparison with those on the worldwide scale.

The nature of agricultural production, the dependency of its volume on weather, socio-political risks of a more drastic economic interference in agriculture, and above mentioned endeavors for self-sufficiency result, among other things, in over-production, often produced with obviously higher costs than the average regional costs for a given commodity, which is then--because that is practically the only way to make use of it--exported on the basis of a proportionately high government subsidy.

The consequence of the cumulative effect of the above mentioned, as well as other production, price, market and political factors, is the fact that prices of agricultural commodities on the international market do not reflect either in the short run, or in the long run, the level of the average costs of a given production, and therefore cannot be an objective criterion of effectiveness in the international context. One can cite several examples.

Sugar

In 1984, price of sugar on the international market fell to a level which did not equal the cost of its production in any of the producing countries. Considering the fact that for many of the producing and exporting countries of cane sugar this commodity is the only, or the basic, agricultural staple, and a crucial part of their income from foreign trade comes from sugar, some of them reacted to the situation by taking measures to increase production. Diversification in countries which produce beet sugar is very difficult, given the system of government regulation of prices and the over-production of many other, alternative agricultural products in developed countries. In August 1984, for example, the EEC granted a subsidy of approximately \$350 per ton of exported sugar, in a specific case for the export of roughly 50 thousand tons of refined sugar. To compare--the concurrent LPD (London daily price for white sugar) was \$143.5 per ton. Despite this situation, which, because of its extreme nature obviously cannot continue for long--one cannot expect that most of the producing countries will show a stronger inclination to cut back on production.

Grains

In 1983 average subsidies in EEC for export of wheat were \$50 per ton, in 1982 as much as \$80 per ton. In the current season the supplies of grain in the Community are 27 percent higher than the expected demand; the supplies of wheat are 45 percent higher. The Chinese People's Republic has entered the grain market as an exporter, so has India. China is exporting corn at prices which are 10-15 percent lower than prices of corn from the U.S. Austria, which in the middle of the 1960's was still importing almost one million tons of grain yearly, during the past 6 years exported almost 2.5 million tons of grain. In 1984, Austrian export was estimated at 0.9 million ton. A subsidy of 990 million schillings was used for the export of 750,000 tons from last year's harvest, half of it coming from the state budget. The total subsidy for grain export amounted to about 1.1 billion schillings. Sweden is exporting grains--wheat and oats at prices 400 Swedish kroner per ton lower than the domestic price paid to farmers. Even though the domestic prices paid to producers in the U.S. are relatively closest to world prices, the government is subsidizing the export. According to U.S. data, the federal programs for building and maintaining irrigation systems and ensuring their operation, and for erosion prevention, amount to as much as several billion dollars each year.

In specialized publications one can find data about expenditures out of the EEC budget for storing agricultural surplus, which are reaching astronomical figures. From time to time the reserves are sold off, or exported, at symbolic price which do not cover by any means the cost of buying the stored products. In 1984, for example, butter was exported, bought from trigger stockpiles by a special grant of 330 ECU/t; later this subsidy was raised to 345 ECU/t. This increase was of course in addition to the current rate of export subsidies for butter exported to third world countries, which, depending on the amount of fat in the butter, amounts to 940-1.810 ECU/t. Since November, exporters of butter have been buying butter from trigger stockpiles for export to third world countries with a discount of 1.415 ECU from the trigger price of 3,197 ECU/t. Even though this concerned butter from stockpiles (6 months old), it is obvious what the loss amounts to from such transactions, which are by no means isolated occurrences. Similar operations in foreign trade have been noted in the past also in the case of other commodities (poultry, eggs, dried milk, meat, etc).

The theoretical level of the economic effectiveness of exports of agricultural products in the last several years can be deduced approximately from the relationship of domestic prices paid to agricultural producers for basic agricultural products, and prices in foreign trade, or prices in basic markets, average import and export prices, or world prices. Despite the fact, that with the exception of the Hungarian People's Republic we do not have at our disposal data on the effectiveness of agricultural exports, the hypothetically arrived at values of relations between domestic producer prices and prices in foreign trade prove the high probability of economic unprofitability of actually realized or potentially realizeable exports of major agricultural products of the temperate zone in most European non-socialist countries.

Table 6. Comparison of World Prices of Wheat and Corn with Prices Paid to Farmers in EEC and Austria
(Yearly averages in dollars per 1.000 kg)

Year	World prices*		Prices in EEC**		Prices in Austria**	
	wheat	corn	wheat	corn	wheat	corn
1977	105	98	172	177	186	185
1978	131	105	200	202	214	212
1979	163	119	217	224	234	228
1980	176	129	229	239	228	210
1981	177	131	200	209	235	189

*--wheat: U.S., Hard Winter No 2, ordinary protein, FOB Gulf Ports
U.S., No 2, Yellow, FOB Gulf Ports

**--wheat: unweighed average of prices paid to farmers for all qualities, 16 percent moisture, including duty on added value
corn: unweighed average of prices paid to farmers, all types of uses, including duty

***--wheat: average of all qualities, exclusive of duty
corn: average for all qualities, exclusive of duty

Source: Price of Agricultural Products and Selected Inputs in Europe and North America, Annual ECE/FAO Price Review No 31 EUROSTAT, Bruxelles, FATUS; USDA.

Identical conclusions can be made by comparing indexes of domestic producer prices with prices of corresponding commodities on the international market. (Prices paid to agricultural producers increase even when there are declines in prices on basic markets, or world prices).

From the data on average export prices and average purchase prices in individual countries one can deduce, with a greater or lesser degree of inaccuracy, also the hypothetical value of the relationship between the domestic prices and prices realized in export, thus a certain analogue of a differential indicator. Calculations have been made purposely for comparable agriculturally developed West European countries, costs which are charged against the product in the phase between the place of sale to farmers and the place designated by the parity of price not being taken into consideration. For example, the hypothetical values of the mentioned simplified differential indicator for the export of potatoes in 1982 would be 88 in Denmark, 82 in the German Federal Republic, 81 in Belgium, 67 in the Netherlands and Austria, and only 43 in Italy. The relationship of the price paid to producers and the potentially achievable export price, deduced from the price of the basic market, or rather similar transactions of goods of comparable quality, the roughly corresponding differential indicator would be in the case of export of feed barley from Denmark 50, from France 58, and from the German Federal Republic 43. By comparing the average purchase price of eggs in the German Federal Republic in 1981 and 1982 with the average import price of eggs to the German Federal Republic (exclusive of duty), we can ascertain a corresponding coefficient for the year 1981 in the amount of 84 and for 1982 in the amount of 79. Prices paid to farmers for 100 kg of wheat of comparable quality or lesser quality in West European countries in

1981 moved in the area between \$20-27, in 1982 between \$19-25. Parallel export prices of U.S. and Canadian wheat (of higher quality) were at the level of \$18.2 per 100 kg, \$17.05 per 100 kg, in 1982. Average import prices of wheat (Unit Values) to individual West European countries were in some countries even lower than the prices paid to their own producers. Comparable relationships can be found in the case of corn and other commodities. The closest relationship of prices paid to producers and export prices, or prices paid on the international market, exists in the U.S. and Canada. But in these countries, too, in some years the yearly average price paid to farmers is higher than the yearly average of export prices of identical goods. With regard to the fact, that from the moment of purchase up to the place determined by the parity of price in the foreign trade, increases in costs occur, it is obvious that prices paid to producers are in the majority of cases higher than prices on the international markets. Even though this discussion of price relations is hypothetical and only illustrative, it is possible, looking also at other similar findings, to deduce that current export of basic agricultural commodities from developed non-socialist countries can hardly be economically profitable for the exporting countries. At the same time we need to add that a number of developed West European countries show prices paid to producers up to 200 percent higher than the West European average. Where we are talking about importing territories, these data were not taken into consideration (for example, Switzerland).

The increasing participation of governments in balancing the cost of production of agricultural products and food, without regard to what other subsidies are granted to agriculture from other sources, is an almost universal phenomenon, not only in the developed countries but also in a number of the developing countries. To quantify the share of subsidies out of state budgets that go into agricultural production is, because of the considerable variety of forms they take, almost out of the question. Nonetheless, it is obvious that the price in the basic market, the world price, or other prices in foreign trade, do not express the comparable costs for a given commodity on a worldwide or regional scale. Political, social, and sometimes also ecological factors, linked to agriculture and production of basic foods, constitute a priority for many countries. A relative overproduction of food stuffs and agricultural products in developed countries leads to a worsening of conditions for selling on corresponding markets, for strengthening the competitive struggle, and shows up logically enough in the area of prices. The mentioned trend is manifest especially in the case of products of the temperate zone, therefore products of the developed countries. A number of products of the tropical and subtropical agriculture understandably do not fall into this approximate category and their supply on the world market lags behind the demand, and thus their prices keep rising. Developed countries are vigorously increasing their exports of agricultural products. Whereas the worldwide export of all agricultural products including fish and forestry products in the period of 1977/79 came to \$228 billion on the average, the export of developing countries was \$70 billion of that amount, but the export of developed countries was \$158 billion. In 1981 the world export of agricultural products reached a total of \$299 billion, of that amount the export of developed countries came to \$215 billion, but that of the developing countries was only \$84 billion. In

the period of 1970/81 the average yearly increase of the physical volume of exported agricultural products of developed countries was 5.6 percent a year, of the developing countries only 1.7 percent.

Even though the share of the Czechoslovak export of agricultural products is insignificant in the context of the mentioned trends, it still holds an irreplaceable position in our external economic relations. Paying attention to worldwide developments or regional trends is one of the key conditions for further rational growth. Assessing the possibilities which arise from cooperation within the CEMA framework is not possible without taking into account worldwide developments. The integrated market of the socialist countries is, because of certain specifics, the market of the developed countries, and is not without influence on the above mentioned trends, and vice versa.

Considering the nature of agricultural production in the developed countries, primarily in Europe, there is an expected overproduction of the main products of the temperate zone by the year 2000, which nevertheless will not have a fundamental impact on the worldwide shortage of food, considering the fact that developing countries will be able to solve their food problems only by improving their own agriculture. The same conclusions have been reached also by the European Economic Commission of the United Nations in their studies in previous years. Certain incentives for the Czechoslovak foreign trade in agricultural products arise from these conclusions, which will have to be taken into consideration and incorporated into the planned production of export assets. The problem is the more urgent the faster the self-sufficiency in basic agricultural products grows and creates potential production surpluses, which in part affect exports.

It appears that the causes of a low economic effectiveness of our exports of agricultural production, or rather in the difference between those costs and average regional costs, but for the most part in the unconformable base of prices in the basic markets which, because of the growth in the volume of production and the stagnation in sales, is often lower than the average regional costs of a given production. These observations could, considering the expected continuation of these trends, lead to unreasonable restrictions of our agricultural exports. The Czechoslovak agricultural export is nonetheless the source of extraordinary advantages, is a profitable segment of our foreign trade contacts with certain important areas, and is for a number of reasons irreplaceable.

Its long-term direction, leading to a growth of economic profitability, will answer the needs of our national economy to the extent to which we will succeed in optimizing its product mix with an appropriate lead-time. The improvement of the composition of the branch export will first of all require that in the case of some commodities we give up in part some positions which today are hard to defend and which are rooted in past traditions. The fundamental and wholly deciding precondition for increasing the competitiveness of Czechoslovak agricultural products on international markets is and will be the closest cooperation with individual sectors of the agricultural complexes of CEMA member countries, the closest coordination of

the planning and commercial activities with sister socialist countries. Only this road can lead to a progressive long-range cooperation in the framework of European agriculture, to the abolition of unrealistic duplicated activities, and a step by step removal of obstructions in the international agricultural trade. The character and extent of the Czechoslovak agricultural complex determine to a certain degree the possibilities for our effective participation in the international division of labor in this sphere. It is obvious that the shifting of the focus of our export activities should be directed to brand products and specialties, to export of agricultural products with a high level of improvements, such as improved seeds and seedlings, specialized food products of the highest quality, etc.

The effort to increase the economic effectiveness of the agricultural exports will demand primarily the selection of profitable export branches and giving them preferable investment treatment, and further it will require re-evaluating the creation of export assets on the basis of improvisationally produced surpluses. Certain measures in this respect have already been taken.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MINISTER VIEWS CHANGED NEED TO IMPROVE INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 1, 1986 pp 1, 7

[Article by Eng Ladislav Gerle, candidate of sciences, deputy premier of the CSSR: "Through Changes Toward Efficiency"]

[Text] The Seventh 5-Year Plan has come to an end. Of the results known thus far we can state that the basic line of economic and social policy, which had been adopted by the 16th Congress of the CPCZ, and which is anchored in the law pertaining to the Seventh 5-Year Plan, will, essentially, be adhered to.

At the 16th congress a fundamental task was assigned to the engineering-metallurgical complex--to assure the modernization of the production-technological base, to master export tasks and deliveries for the domestic market on a qualitatively higher level. The congress assigned high rates of development to the engineering industry and particularly to the electrotechnical industry. In so doing, it placed great emphasis on the growth of the technical-economic level of production, on shortening the innovative cycle, and on speeding up scientific and technical development. In planning to halt the quantitative growth of the metallurgical industry, the congress turned its attention particularly to the qualitative aspects of products.

Better and Worse Results

The results of the Seventh 5-Year Plan confirmed that the engineering-metallurgical complex, which accounts for 43 percent of overall industrial production, generally successfully met the demanding tasks levied upon it. However, it is a fact that the results could have been better had all possibilities of technical development, organization and management, modernization and reconstruction been utilized and, last but not least, had the quality of production been increased.

High increments in production were achieved particularly in the areas of electronics and microelectronics (microelectronic circuits, instruments for automated regulation, telecommunications facilities, machines for data processing) and by some areas of consumer goods (particularly color television sets). Above-average development rates were recorded by areas supporting the development of fuel extraction, energy, and hydraulic power. Areas whose products possess prerequisites for exports to nonsocialist countries also developed

more rapidly. On the other hand, development of areas experiencing intensive material use, particularly of imported materials, as well as areas which experienced difficulties with sales abroad, were experiencing slower development.

A number of successful machines and installations were developed, for example, the technological installations for VVER-440 nuclear power plants and surface quarrying technology, conveyor belt equipment, electric and combustion locomotives, trolleybuses, steam and water turbines, metal-forming and metal-cutting machines with computer numerical controls, cargo trucks, construction machinery, agricultural machinery and tractors, printing machines, textile machines, and installations for the chemical industry. A number of new types of consumer goods were introduced.

The expansion of areas important to the national economy was supported by seven state goal-oriented programs. Production in related areas increased, in comparison with the previous 5-year plan, by 178 percent. Last year, its share in total engineering production was 8.5 percent.

In metallurgy, while the production of pig iron stagnated, emphasis was placed on intensifying the production of steel and rolled materials, which led to improving the structure of metallurgical products, as well as leading to the growth of their utility characteristics. Steel produced by the oxygen converter method accounted for 40.5 percent (steel produced by the oxygen process alone accounted for more than 70 percent), electric steel accounted for 14 percent, and continuously cast steel to 8 percent of total steel production. The slowdown in the progress made by modern metallurgical technologies, particularly the low share accounted for by the continuous casting of steel, exerted an unfavorable influence upon the further increasing of the utility characteristics of metallurgical material and, thus, also adversely influenced the desirable lowering of the quantity of produced metals. We were not fully successful, either through domestic production or through imports, to assure the actual development of the engineering industry. In particular, there is a shortage of technical means to facilitate the transition to the automation of processes and the employment of modern technologies which would make it possible to increase capacity and lower the labor-intensive nature of engineering production.

Overall tasks in deliveries for investments and domestic trade were exceeded. During the course of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the engineering industry increased its share in overall Czechoslovak exports, particularly with respect to the socialist countries. However, it was neither possible to attain the anticipated degree of efficiency nor the expected volume with respect to exports to nonsocialist countries. The objective influence exerted by changes in the structure of demand and the limiting measures taken by the governments of capitalist countries are amplified by persisting problems pertaining to the lack of adaptability of Czechoslovak production to buyer requirements from the standpoint of ready delivery, technical level, and assortment. Considerable reserves exist in commercial work and with respect to the essential connection between production and foreign trade.

Targets in decisive economic indicators (adjusted producer costs, profit) were also exceeded. They reflected the fulfillment and the exceeding of stipulated savings in fuels, energy, and materials. Labor productivity also developed in a more favorable vein than had been anticipated by the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The successful fulfillment of the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan was significantly contributed primarily by the realization of the conclusions of the 10th Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ with respect to the goals and development of the engineering industry, the electrotechnical industry, and metallurgical industry after the 16th Congress of the CPCZ. However, fulfillment of the stipulated measures indicate that the engineering-metallurgical complex continues to show evidence of some serious problems of a long-term character which exert an unfavorable influence upon meeting the requirements of the national economy, upon the technical level of products, and the efficiency of their production, as well as their export. It is primarily from this viewpoint that the demanding nature of the tasks faced by the metallurgical and engineering complex during the Eighth 5-Year Plan must be judged.

At the 16th Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, which was held toward the end of November of last year, the status of work on the Eighth 5-Year Plan for the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia and the plan for 1986 were discussed. The proposed conception is based on the long-term development of our society through the year 2000. Despite the fact that existing considerations are the subject of further research in many directions and searches for optimum solutions, it is clear during the current period that the attainment of the intentions of the Eighth 5-Year Plan will demand a more speedy and more effective mobilization of all reserves.

Orientation Toward Priorities

Over the next 5 years, national income is expected to increase by a minimum of 17 to 19 percent. Its growth must be safeguarded, essentially, on the basis of today's level of fuel, energy, and material resources. The lowering of the share of production consumption to produce the social product is three times greater during the Eighth 5-Year Plan in comparison with the Seventh 5-Year Plan and is expected to assure more than one-third of the increment in the national income. The demanding nature of tasks is reflected primarily in the industry which assures virtually 80 percent of the anticipated increment in the national income.

The engineering-metallurgical complex will continue to make a significant contribution toward attainment of these difficult intentions. Engineering production will rise by more than 30 percent by the year 1990 (from today's Kcs 234 billion to Kcs 306 billion). The fastest growth rate is to be attained by electrotechnical industry production--by more than 62 percent.

In metallurgy the intentions of the Eighth 5-Year Plan are oriented toward maintaining deliveries of metallurgical products for use in the national economy at the 1985 level, while raising their utility parameters. Completely new materials and products will begin to be delivered which are essential to the expansion of progressive engineering and electrotechnological areas and the share of refined steels will be raised.

The development of the engineering-metallurgical complex will be aimed at national economic priorities, specifically the following:

- a) increasing exports and their efficiency, particularly to nonsocialist countries. The engineering industry and the electrotechnical industry must support a roughly 30-percent higher formation of foreign exchange resources. This is a very demanding task because the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan were not fulfilled with respect to engineering exports to nonsocialist countries. Extraordinary attention must be devoted to a higher valuation of exports to both territories;
- b) further improvement in quality with respect to deliveries made to the domestic market. This will primarily be a question of expanding the assortment and delivery of types of goods in short supply. Special significance attaches to deliveries of high technical and quality levels which are being sought. The engineering industry and the electrotechnical industry must, during the next few years, increase deliveries to the domestic market by virtually 40 percent;
- c) the creation of essential technical prerequisites for the further expansion and modernization (reconstruction) of both the production sectors of the complex, as well as of sectors of the other branches of the national economy. Deliveries of capital goods from the engineering industry are to increase by 25 percent in 1990, compared to 1985;
- d) the creation of essential prerequisites for the utilization of manufacturing products by domestic and foreign users, primarily through the delivery of required spare parts and after-sale services.

The fulfillment of these tasks must be assured and accompanied by substantial declines in the energy-intensive and materials-intensive nature of the products manufactured. With respect to engineering sectors, the average annual savings in ferrous metals should be about 5 percent, whereas savings in the entire national economy should be 3.5 percent; this should be accompanied by a tightening of the decisive economic plan indicators.

The principal method for attaining the intentions of the Eighth 5-Year Plan must, therefore, become the deepening of intensification in the engineering-metallurgical complex, which was initiated as early as the Seventh 5-Year Plan. This is connected with gradual changes in the structure of production.

The decisive structural changes will be given direction and will be controlled by the state goal-oriented programs. In conjunction with the requirements of the national economy, they will be aimed primarily at nuclear energy, the rationalization of the consumption of fuels, energy, and metals, at selective progressive production processes supporting the expansion of robotics and the automation of technological processes, at the expansion of qualified chemistry, at selected subassembly sectors, and at the problem of electronification. Production in industrial sectors to support these programs is expected to virtually double during the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

In Support of the Innovation of the Assortment

Changes in production will lead to priority development of those production sectors which will make it possible to raise the technical level of products and their efficient sales in foreign markets. Naturally, structural changes in the engineering industry will require changes in the structure of subsupplier branches where, thanks to a higher share of mental work, better efficiency is being achieved than in other industrial sectors.

During the course of the next 5 years, production in the heavy engineering industry is to rise by more than 21 percent. The main tasks are concentrated upon assuring deliveries for capital activities at home and abroad. This will involve primarily deliveries in support of nuclear energy, the reconstruction of conventional power-producing equipment, equipment for the production of heat (the boiler economy), both for industry as well as for the population, the innovation of transport facilities, primarily locomotives, streetcars, trolleybuses, and freight cars. Increased importance also attaches to deliveries for the food processing industry, for the low-volume chemical industry, and for ecological programs. The dynamics of development of production in the heavy engineering industry are also specifically influenced by our participation in joint projects in the USSR (for example, at Krivoy Rog and Yamburg).

With respect to the general engineering industry, it is decisive that, during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it satisfy the higher demands of modernization of the production-technological base of the national economy and substantially raise the quality of deliveries for the domestic as well as for the foreign market. Important sectors of this industry are on a relatively good technical level. This is also documented by the results of our participation at last year's international engineering expositions at Brno, Hanover, Leipzig, and Plovdiv. A number of our products are comparable to leading products in the world and some continue to hold their leadership levels. In many areas we have captured the current tendencies in world development (for example, with respect to metal-cutting and metal-forming machine tools, textile machines, and leather-working machines) and we have the prerequisites for further developing these products. On the other hand, there are sectors in which we are not achieving the required results.

It turns out that in order to safeguard the further development of engineering sectors it will be necessary to solve the expansion of the assortment and increases in quality of subassembly elements and the desired application of electronics or microelectronics above all else. Currently, there is virtually no sector in which electronics do not fulfill the function of specific innovation leading to a substantial increase in the technical-economic level and the utility characteristics of its products, where electronics would not lead to more rational and more efficient production processes. Therefore, the growth of production envisaged for general engineering during the Eighth 5-Year Plan of roughly 25 percent will not mean a mere increase in existing trends of development within individual production sectors, but will represent an express change in the structure of their production.

Structural changes within sectors and between sectors will be based, primarily, on progressive and fundamental innovations affecting the total production assortment. This is based on the more express application of the results of technical development, particularly relative to the application of electronics in regulating and control functions pertaining to engineering products, the use of new materials, the introduction of modern technologies, etc.

From these viewpoints, it will be necessary to specifically aim for development, adaptation, and production of new generations of machines and installations which will make possible the express growth of productivity while taking world trends into account with respect to electronification and automation of production processes. This is primarily a question of developing the production of flexible production systems, including the means of active control, interoperational manipulation, control systems, and the utilization of industrial robots and manipulators. A no less important task will be the assurance of modernization pertaining to current key sectors, for example, tractors, automobiles, metal-cutting and metal-forming machine tools, textile machines, printing machines, and leather-working machines.

Above-average development rates will be experienced by industrial robots and manipulators, turboblowers for combustion engines, high-capacity changers and converters, welding machines, container-filling and packaging equipment, excavators, transmissions, printing machines, agricultural machinery and installations, textile machines, hydraulic elements and aggregates. Justified demands are also being placed on the quality and assurance of the desired quantity of deliveries of engineering consumer goods, particularly those that have been modernized and of completely new products.

Support for the Program of Electronification

In the electrotechnical industry the main intentions for development are primarily connected with assuring the program of electronification throughout the national economy, while further strengthening its subassembly character, primarily in relationship to the engineering industry. The intentions are specified particularly in the state goal-oriented program A-07--Development of the Material-Technical Base for Electronification, as well as in goal-oriented program A-08--Development of the Application of Electronics in Selected Sectors of the National Economy. The goal is to speed up development of the electrotechnical industry during the Eighth 5-Year Plan and to thus create the material-technical conditions for the broader application of electrotechnics and electronics in production and utilization.

The anticipated development of national economic needs demands that certain changes be made in the structure of the volume of production of individual sectors in the electrotechnical industry. The greatest growth in production during the Eighth 5-Year Plan will be in the areas producing components (an increase of about 136 percent) and measuring equipment (an increase of about 110 percent). A lower rate of development will be experienced by areas of heavy current electrotechnics (an increase of about 36 percent). A high rate of development of production, primarily for use in the electrotechnical industry itself, will be experienced by single-purpose machines and installations. The

attainment of the anticipated rates of production growth are connected with the gradual formation of conditions for the modernization and expansion of technological capacities and increases in the volume of material inputs.

Substantive goals of the electrotechnical industry are characterized by significant innovative changes. In the component-manufacturing base technology for the production of complex integrated circuits will be adopted. New technology involved in the surface mounting of components to area contacts, whose contribution will primarily be a higher degree of reliability and a reduction of product dimensions, will be introduced.

In automation and computer equipment, production of systems for automating production control and technological processes will be expanded. This will involve modernized and increased production of minicomputers, microcomputers, development of the production of sensors, readers, servodrives, and other automation elements.

With respect to measuring equipment, demanding systems such as electron microscopes, X-ray analyzers, spectrometers, etc., will be further developed. With respect to capital electronics, the principal effort will be aimed at the further modernization of television and broadcast transmitters operating by remote control, equipment for assuring satellite transmissions; in telecommunications equipment, the transition toward completely electronic telephone centrals will continue.

With respect to consumer electronics, emphasis will primarily be placed on the modernization of existing instruments to record and reproduce sound and on the development of production and an adequate assortment of television receivers while increasing the degree of digitalization, the level of design, and the level of some special services such as stereophonic sound and receipt of supplemental information involved in color television receivers and improvements in the convenience of operation. In addition, principal attention will be focused on the development of the production of audiovisual equipment, particularly of videocassette recorders and digital compact disk players.

A Lower Share for Metallurgy

The concept for metallurgical production is based on the basic directive calling for reduction of the energy-intensive and materials-intensive nature of national income formation. In 1990 the share of metallurgy in the overall volume of industrial production will decline by more than 10 percent compared to 1985. Even though industrial production will increase, and particularly engineering production, domestic consumption of metals will not be increased and exports will be accomplished as a result of economically efficient international division of labor. While the overall production of steel will decline, it is anticipated that production in oxygen converters will rise to such an extent that, together with tandem processes, it will approximate 75 percent of production. In this connection, one of the most complicated tasks will be the processing of all occurring metal scrap in steel mills. It is essential to speed up the solution of assigned tasks of scientific-technical development which bear on increasing the throughput of scrap in tandem furnaces and oxygen converters with the assistance of supplemental fuels.

With respect to the production of rolled materials, we are concerned primarily with assuring the necessary assortment at appropriate quality and processing levels, particularly with increasing the growth in refined steels by more than 20 percent. Efforts will also be made to accomplish the rational utilization of new, modern roll trains and the gradual sidelining of obsolete capacities in rolling mills, as well as other metallurgical aggregates. Tube mill capacities will be augmented by the second phase of development at the Tube Mill and Metallurgical Plant at Chomutov to produce thick-walled tubes destined primarily for the engineering industry.

Development of the metallurgy of nonferrous metals is closely connected with the development of programs affecting the engineering and electrotechnical industry. In the metallurgy of nonferrous metals it is expected that domestic raw material resources, including secondary raw materials, will be utilized, it is expected that higher-quality production will be expanded, such as that represented by powder metallurgy, and it is expected that special materials for the electrotechnical and electronics industry will be produced.

The satisfaction of the requirements of industry, not only with respect to quantity, but, primarily, with respect to quality of materials (including new assortments of special materials), requires the speeding up of modernization and the intensification of metallurgical production. This will simultaneously facilitate the lowering of the consumption of metals and energy which is intolerably high today.

Cooperation Will Expand

An essential condition for the engineering-metallurgical complex to play a significant role in making the transition of our economy onto the path of its further intensive development is its broader commitment with respect to the international division of labor involving the CEMA countries, primarily the Soviet Union. A fundamental role in developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation is played by the newly created CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Engineering. Last year this body discussed, among others, the working out of long-term programs for development of specialization and cooperation in the engineering industry through the year 2000. Within the framework of the engineering committee, Czechoslovakia participates in a whole range of work with special-purpose intentions aimed at the automobile industry, power engineering, and health equipment, the sectoral organizations of which are presided over by the following ministers of the Czechoslovak Government: Comrades Pavol Bahyl, Eduard Saul, and Milan Kubat.

At the end of last year, at the level of premiers of governments of the CEMA countries, it was decided to establish the international association entitled INTERROBOT; Czechoslovakia participates in this program both in a directoral capacity as well as with its production capacities. Full use is made of the Research Institute of the Metals Industry in Presov, which fulfills the function of the leading work site involved in the program of robotization in our national economy.

In conjunction with work involved in the joint scientific-technical program of the CEMA countries through the year 2000, the engineering industry and the electrotechnical industry will determine the dynamics which will exist in mutual relations. Even today their share in the international division of labor exceeds 60 percent.

For the period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, important tasks have been set for the metallurgical-engineering complex which involve increases in the share of high technical-economic-level products. In comparison with the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the increases for the heavy and general engineering industry are to be virtually 5 percent, those for the electrotechnical industry 8.5 percent. Fulfillment of these tasks will demand an accelerated realization of outputs involved in the tasks of the plan of technical development, in completed tasks or tasks which were started during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, as well as an express modernization of production sectors, primarily in the enterprise sphere.

In the system of managing technical development and evaluating the technical-economic level of production, it is necessary to remove selected administrative elements which do not exert sufficient pressure or incentives to strengthen healthy entrepreneurial functions among producers designed to fulfill the decisive requirements and needs of users. We are dealing with the standing of the enterprise and the economic production unit in the area of technical development, their full responsibility and duty to solve their own prosperity problems, and the competitiveness of their products on the world market through technical development.

Fundamental Modernization Is Essential

The speedup in the development of the engineering-metallurgical complex to enable it to satisfy the requirements of the national economy is not possible without a fundamental solution of the problem of modernizing and reconstructing its production base and the continuous application of modern technology. The pressing need for modernization and reconstruction of the production-technical base is based not only on its growing obsolescence, but primarily on the fact that without modern technologies which are generally introduced throughout the world we would lag behind in the economy of production and would, consequently, be losing out in the international arena. For the present, the labor-intensive nature of basic production is not declining adequately. Metal-forming, the production of precision castings, welding processes, and the appropriately connected progressive technologies are being applied in an unsatisfactory manner. The share of modern semiautomated and automated machines continues to be low and, in the past 5-year plan, did not undergo any significant changes. It is, therefore, essential that modern technologies, digitally controlled and computer-controlled equipment be introduced on a far greater scale and that production processes be gradually automated through the utilization of electronification and robotization.

In conjunction with the intentions of capital policies for the Eighth 5-Year Plan, emphasis is being placed on the priority assurance of reconstruction and modernization pertaining to the production base of the engineering-metallurgical complex and the express increase in the share of machines and installations in the overall volume of capital investments.

Even though the plan creates certain prerequisites for the modernization of the production-technical base in the engineering and electrotechnical industries, it will be necessary, in support of their substantial acceleration, to utilize all existing reserves and economic results achieved by enterprises and organizations. This will not be a question of one-time actions, but, rather, a permanent process which will have to involve the system of management through suitable economic levers. Without weakening capital formation and the utilization of national income, it is not possible to acquiesce to the calls, and the frequently justified arguments, of industrial enterprises for additional investments. But why not provide the opportunity for a certain portion of the capital, which is created over and above the economic plan (and thus also arouse interest in exceeding planned targets), to be used for modernizing the production base, along with all its advantages?

A serious problem remains the assurance of technical needs for modernization and reconstruction, as well as new construction. We wish to obtain these means particularly through the following ways:

- a) through deliveries of machines and installations from specialized domestic production, which will be at the required technical-economic levels (they will be provided by so-called major engineering industry establishments);
- b) through the production of single-purpose machines and installations at the sites of users of the technology, backstopped by modules, components, and parts produced by the engineering and electrotechnical industry;
- c) through the medium of the engineering committee (in its jurisdiction, it cares for production technology of the socialist community of states) from CEMA member countries.

Sometimes, a quick solution offers itself through imports from capitalist countries, particularly from the holders of mature technology. Even this solution can be suitably supported with effective economic instruments (the good example of the approach by the State Bank of Czechoslovakia with respect to utilizing credits which return foreign exchange is known from the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan) and through motivation to obtain funds by exceeding export targets to nonsocialist countries with a higher share of their utilization being assigned to domestic modernization.

The engineering-metallurgical complex faces a significant period which is closely connected with deepening intensification throughout the entire national economy. The demanding nature of the tasks which it faces as a result of the conception of the Eighth 5-Year Plan primarily consists of the fact that they are to be fulfilled concurrently with the progressive solutions of further development affecting the engineering-metallurgical complex. This also results in high demands placed upon every worker and a completely new approach to the fulfillment of planned intentions.

5911

CSO: 2400/164

ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SEWER SYSTEM DETERIORATION HALTED THROUGH RELINING PROCEDURE

East Berlin BAUZEITUNG in German No 11, Nov 85 pp 516-17

[Article by Hans-Dieter Teuber, engineer, Chamber of Technology [KDT], Leipzig, Bernhard Fischer, engineer, Leipzig KDT, Eberhard Fritsche, engineer, Wolfen KDT, Eberhard Steckel, engineer, Wolfen KDT, from the Institute for Construction Engineering and Underground Construction of the Construction Academy of the GDR]

[Text] On an international scale it can be observed that damage to sewer networks is becoming more extensive. This situation is derived in part from the approaching end of the standard useful life of such networks and in part, however, from static, dynamic, thermal, and chemical effects for which the network was not originally designed. The results are leaking connections, cracks in the pipe, corrosion damage and the related undesirable infiltrations or environmentally polluting leakages, the last-cited particularly among waste water pipelines of chemical plants. Efficiency and functional fitness are reduced to an extent which requires either a replacement or a restoration. Since the replacement causes high costs and in the case of in-house pipelines additionally sensitive interruptions to the course of the production, interest is growing in restoring the functional fitness of damaged waste water systems with the aid of economical repair processes once again that require only a minimum of digging up, have an effect with little interference to attached or neighboring production plants, and guarantee a long service life of the repaired network area.

Choice of the Repair Procedure

On the basis of a corresponding assignment a development was carried out in the Institute for Construction Engineering and Underground Construction of the GDR Construction Academy in cooperation with the source of the assignment and a potential firm for carrying this out, whose objective was the effective repair of waste water systems in chemical industry. The following aspects were to be considered:

- Because of the relatively frequent change in the variety of products and the changes in production technology and raw materials connected thereto in the chemical plant a variety of waste products and effluents arise unavoidably.

Since these changes are not predictable for such a long time as waste water systems must be used, the use of a high quality repair material with a longer service life is required.

- The repairs are to be undertaken on unpressurized pipelines with a cross section--lower limits of diameter of 150mm--that show leakages in the areas of connections and cracks in the pipe walls, which in fact do not lead to the collapse of the pipeline but which have reduced its carrying capacity. The material to be used for the repairs must as a result contribute to the restoration of the carrying capacity.

- This must involve not only the pipeline bundles but also, as far as necessary, the tunnels in the complex repairs. In this case the carrier construction of the often square or right angle tunnels must continue to be functionally fit.

An almost complete overview of the possible procedures is presented by Teuber in (1) and Maidl, Stein, and Bielecki in (2); a limited number of procedures is reported in (3).

On the basis of the cited premises in the case of the task-related weighing of the processes and materials the decision fell in favor of the relining procedure. In this case a PE-HD pipe cluster ND 3.2 is drawn into the unpressurized pipeline to be repaired, whose cross section is freed of incrustations and deposits by a previous pipe cleaning down to the almost original rated diameter. A significant role is played here with the use of the further developed procedure, and with the inclusion of special tunnel lining of PE-HD /polyethylene-high pressure/lining material it became possible not only as before to repair individual carriers but whole areas of network up to the required minimum rated diameter of 150mm (4, 5, 6).

Application Criteria:

- The relining procedure with PE-HD pipes should be used only then when the aggressiveness of the medium flowing through justifies the use of this high quality intermediate.

- Corresponding to the conditions relating to production and the complex reconstruction plan is to be worked out for the network area of the time a repairs plan with the following objectives:

- . division into repair fields,
- . future use of the pipeline (hydraulic, chemical, and other demands),
- . condition of the pipeline (on the basis of sewer main distant viewing) and of the tunnels,
- . planning the underground construction space which comes into consideration for the selection of the starting and end ditches or end tunnels, respectively,

- . decision on the direction of the repairs (if possible, from the large rated diameter to the smaller),
 - . determination of the retractable lengths (20.00m to 50.00m, in special cases larger).
- The firms for this operation must be authorized for such work.
 - In the case of welding operations on the thermoplastic materials the official guidelines must be followed.
 - The reduction of the open diameter caused by the insertion of the sleeve in the pipe to be repaired must be so little that the pulling through of the drawing attachment of the PE-HD pipe is permitted.
 - Feeder lines, that connect with the main to be repaired outside of the tunnels, are to be dug up. The connecting pipe is either:
 - . to be shut down or
 - . to be shifted to an existing ditch, in which case the old connection site is to be sealed or
 - . to be connected on the spot to a newly constructed tunnel.

Effects

With the repair procedure "relining" for sewer mains and the complex technology developed for it--specially for applications in industrial areas with above average effluent loading--it is possible to save on labor for excavation and filling in and to lessen the sensitive interruptions generally connected with repair operations significantly as well as impairing the above ground traffic. Besides the following is achieved:

- man-hours reduction by about 60 percent,
- economy in investment costs in comparison with the replacement by new ceramic pipes with reaction resistant sealing of the pipe joints depending upon pipe diameter and depth,
- reduced heavy manual labor (about 6 kg of PE-HD pipe per meter in place of 70 kg ceramic pipe per meter),
- increase in the operating safety of the pipeline through the elimination of the sleeve connections with their sealing materials sensitive to damage.

A pipeline repaired by means of the relining procedure has practically the same intrinsic value as the original undamaged pipeline. The repaired main in fact shows in comparison with the original a smaller inner diameter; it is nevertheless smoother, less likely to have deposits and thus maintenance friendlier, and it is above all operationally safer.

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CSO: 2300/151

ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

POLISH-NICARAGUAN TRADE, SCI-TECH TALKS--On the fourth of this month Vice Premier Manfred Gorywoda, chairman of the Planning Commission, met with the revolutionary commander and Minister of Cooperation with Foreign Countries Henry Ruiza Hernandez of the Republic of Nicaragua. Minister Hernandez is head of the Nicaraguan delegation at the first session of the Polish-Nicaraguan Mixed Commission for Economic Cooperation. The results of bilateral economic relations between Poland and Nicaragua were summed up during the meeting and issues concerning the further development of economic and sci-tech cooperation between the two countries were also discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Feb 86 p 2] /8918

POSSIBLE TRADE WITH JAPAN--Andrzej Wojcik, minister of foreign trade, and Japanese Ambassador Susumu Matsubara met on the 24th of this month to discuss the question of Polish-Japanese economic cooperation. Interest was expressed in increased trade between the two countries, including cooperation in third markets. The potential for participation of Japanese firms in the modernization of certain areas of Polish industry was also discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Jan 86 p 8] /8918

ECONOMIC JOURNAL IMPORTANCE STRESSED--On the third of this month Vice Premier M. Gorywoda, chairman of the Planning Commission in the Council of Ministers, met with Z. Gajczyk, director of State Economic Publications, and M. Ostrowski, editor-in-chief of GOSPODARKA PLANOWA. This monthly, which is devoted to the problems of planning and economic development, is commemorating its fortieth anniversary this month. The importance of the development of economic knowledge and planning concepts for the formation of a growth-oriented view of the Polish economy and the continuation of the process of reform of its mechanisms was also taken into account. They also discussed the main directions and forms of the publication's activities. Vice Premier Gorywoda indicated the role that GOSPODARKA PLANOWA could perform in a search for new solutions and in the formation of economic policy and methods for the planning and functioning of our economy. He stressed that special attention should be given to the wealth of ideas and practical experience of socialist countries in which significant economic restructuring processes are taking place, including those that came as a result of accelerated technical progress and increased participation in the international division of labor..[Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Feb 86 p 2]

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6 March 1986

ECONOMY

ROMANIA

IMPROVED STEEL-PRODUCTION TECHNOLOGIES INCREASE EXPORTS

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 49, 6 Dec 85 pp 12-14

Excerpt from article by Dr S. Arsene, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy: "Meeting World Standards of Production and Export"

Text A few decades ago steel production was one of the main indicators of a country's level of economic development because of that basic product's essential contribution to the development of all the other economic sectors and especially machine building, transportation, industrial construction and civil engineering, electrical engineering, etc. Due to the new scientific-technical advances, which have also made radical changes in the basic materials, steel production is no longer in the same direct correlation with a country's developmental level, but within certain limits it is indicative of a country's position in the world economy, particularly as regards quality and the refinement and better use of the respective resources. Whereas physical production of steel reaches a ceiling when the economy is saturated, a ceiling of 500-800 kg per capita in countries like the USSR, the United States, Japan, the FRG, France, England, Canada etc., the volume of production in terms of value tends to increase with better, intensive use, output of varieties with high technical-functional qualities (The United States, the FRG and Sweden are typical examples), large-scale recycling of scrap iron, etc. (The proportions of scrap iron in steel production vary among 60-70 percent in the United States, about 70 percent in the GDR, 60 percent in Sweden, 55 percent in Poland, etc.).

From the standpoint of this indicator, Romania's per capita steel output of 636 kg in 1984 places it on a level in keeping with the Romanian people's great efforts to develop and consolidate the national technical-material base. This point is made better by another indicator called the "metal supply" or "metal accumulation" in the technical literature, representing the entirety of the steel existing at a given point in installations, machinery, equipment, constructions, transport means, consumer goods etc. in use. This indicator is 7,000-9,000 kg per capita for the developed countries and below 300 kg per capita for the under-developed ones, while the world average is about 2,000 kg per capita.

The Romanian people's efforts to equip their national economy with peak technologies, highly productive machinery and installations, and a modern infrastructure as well accelerated the national metal accumulation, which is now about

3,500-4,000 kg per capita. But we are considerably behind the developed countries, which is one more argument in favor of adopting new technologies with better parameters from the standpoint of the performance-weight ratio. The restructuring of the iron and steel industry in the great producer countries by re-adjustment to the new consumer trends, to the new structure of production costs, and to the demands of the scientific-technical revolution for introduction and expansion of modern industrial processes has had and will have a powerful impact not only upon the evolution and structure of production and consumption but also upon the flows of trade in those products.

Use of the Metal Supply As a Macroeconomic Indicator

The Romanian party and state policy in the field under consideration was reflected in the steady growth of the volume of steel production, which showed average annual growth rates of 6 percent in 1970-1984. The growth rate of consumption of raw steel in Romania was somewhat more moderate, averaging 5 percent a year. As a result in recent years Romania has been in fourth and fifth place in the world in the evolution of production and consumption respectively, and it is accordingly in 12th place in the world in absolute production (after the USSR, Japan, the United States, the CPR, the FRG, Italy, France, Poland, Great Britain and Mexico).

While the two above-mentioned indicators showed the quantitative aspect of the inventory, the value of the gross national product per ton of metal supply is computed in order to evaluate the qualitative aspects of better, intensive use of the national metal accumulation. That indicator is still low in Romania. The indicator of created gross national product per annual output of steel is in a better state. For 1984 Romania logged a little over \$3,800 of gross national product per ton of steel produced, compared with \$18,000 per ton in the United States, \$39,000 per ton in Switzerland, about \$20,000 per ton in France, and about \$9,000 per ton in Japan.

The gaps between Romania and the economically developed countries in use of the metal supply are wider than those in degree of equipment of the economy with metal (about 4-5 to 1).

Use of Modern Technologies Through Competitive Production Structures

In order to determine the courses of action to make more intensive use of the metal supply and to enhance the contribution of steel production to economic growth, numerous analyses and studies were made in the Galati Iron and Steel Combine, the national economy's chief metal supplier, which makes about 50 percent of the steel output and over 95 percent of the domestically manufactured steel sheets and strips, and it is also the only unit exporting rolled steel plates.

Very heavy investments have been made in this great iron and steel combine, and its technical equipment is being continued in the current five-year plan by activating a blast furnace with 3,500 cubic meters of useful volume, a new steel mill complex with converters and installations for continuous steel casting, two sets of coke ovens for 850,000 tons each per year, a sheet steel rolling mill with high technical-operating parameters, a rolling mill for semimanufactured products and other industrial capacities that will enhance both the physical volume and the technical-qualitative performances of the output. Organized for

rolled products and equipped with a series of hot- and cold-rolling mills, the Galati Iron and Steel Combine makes over 350 varieties of steel, steel sheets up to 4,500 mm wide and 4-100 mm thick, and cold-rolled strips 0.4-3.5 mm thick and 1,000-1,500 mm wide, all for the shipbuilding, automotive, electronics, nuclear and aeronautics industries, marine drilling, and the chemical and energy industries.

Compared with 1950, when the Siemens-Martin and Thomas processes predominated in world production (78.7 and 10.7 percent respectively), now the process of manufacture in a converter with blasts of oxygen (the L/D process) accounts for more than 50 percent of production, the electric process over 20 percent, and the Thomas process is on the way out. Note that the Common Market countries and Japan produce over 70-75 percent of their steel in converters with oxygen, the most modern and efficient manufacturing process.

Alongside the efforts to increase the physical volume of production, the combine has taken steps to change the production structure radically in favor of higher-grade steels. Now 52 percent of the steel output is produced in oxygen converters, 18 percent in electric furnaces, and at least 30 percent in Martin furnaces. For purposes of comparison we mention that in 1965 about 90 percent of the nation's steel output was produced by the traditional process, in Martin furnaces, and only 10 percent in electric furnaces. Meanwhile the quality carbon and low-alloy steels were increased from 14 percent of the total steel output in 1950 and 31 percent of it in 1965 to about 47 percent at present, while the proportion of alloyed steels was almost doubled between 1965 and 1985 (from 5.6 to about 10 percent). Promotion of the new technologies created optimal conditions for making a diversified assortment of steel sheets of rustproof steels essential to the electrical engineering industry.

In view of the Galati CS's [Iron and Steel Combine] leading position in Romanian industry, it has important assignments in the next period too in implementing the provisions of the Program To Raise the Technical and Qualitative Standards of Products, To Lower the Inputs of Raw Materials, Fuels and Energy, and To Make Better Use of Raw Materials and Materials in the 1983-1985 Period and up to 1990." As it says in that document, a special effort will be made in the next period to regularize the mechanical and technological properties of metallurgical processing products, to obtain optimal metallographic structures, and to enhance the finishing and dimensional precision. Controlled cooling of rolled products will be expanded, as well as the reheating and globulizing process and steel processing by broaching and hot drawing.

In development of production in this field in the next five-year plan the highly technical products are to be in a steadily growing proportion, such as new types of steel sheets of weldable, high-resistance, heat-treated structural steels; special bars and plates for the chemical, nuclear and aeronautics industries; electrotechnical strips with very high magnetic permeability; whole finished rolled products manufactured in a continuous flow; electrolytically tin-plated sheets, etc. It is also planned to expand the use of unconventional technologies for heat treatments and the facilities needed to increase the proportion of heat-treated iron and steel products by 1990.

Romania's trade balance in the item "iron and steel rolled products" indicates a considerable gain in the physical volume of exports from 318,600 tons in 1960

to 1,278,100 tons in 1970 and about 1.9 million tons in 1983 (with a growth index of 593.68 percent from 1960 to 1983 and one of 147.99 percent from 1970 to 1983), amounting to about one-fifth of the present national output of steel rolled products. Imports of this group of products steadily increased from 830,100 tons in 1960 to 1,360,600 tons in 1970 and 1,570,400 tons in 1975, while later they showed a steadily declining trend so that their physical volume in 1983 (733,300 tons) was below the 1960 figure for the first time. Corresponding to this evolution of the physical volume, the balance of trade in iron and steel rolled goods steadily increased its surplus in the last 10 years until that surplus exceeded the volume of imports by more than 50 percent in 1983.

Improvement of the Exchange Ratio

Whereas from the standpoint of the physical balance the respective evolution reflects a correct policy of gradually reducing the nation's dependence upon imports of these basic products, the analysis must be supplemented with a number of points, chiefly in connection with the effectiveness of Romanian exports of iron and steel products and especially of steel rolled products. The unit value of Romania's imports of those products far exceeds that of its exports because of the high-grade products and the special steels imported from the foreign markets. And since the development of Romania's iron and steel industry is based on imported raw materials, namely iron ore, metallurgical coal and coking coal, the sector's exports must also cover those imports, which were increased, in the case of iron ore, from 917,100 tons in 1960 to 6,267,800 tons in 1970, 15,984,000 tons in 1980 and 14,477,000 tons in 1983, and in the case of metallurgical coke from 655,800 tons in 1960 to 2,416,500 tons in 1970, 3,133,000 tons in 1980 and 1,715,000 tons in 1983, while the imports of washed coal for coke came to 4,293,000 tons in 1983.

Even this brief account shows the great importance of restructuring Romania's iron and steel industry to meet the requirements of the technical-scientific revolution, the consumer demands and the structural changes in the production costs, so that while reducing the volume of imports of higher-grade iron and steel rolled products we can supply both the domestic and foreign markets with greater quantities of these products on highly competitive terms. This requirement is especially urgent because Romania's exports of steel rolled products have not yet shown an effectiveness commensurate with the national efforts made to produce them, and as we know one of the main objectives of the five-year plan is to make exports more effective by eliminating the products that bring in little foreign exchange and making better use of the raw materials, energy and social labor, especially in machine building, metallurgy, the chemical industry, wood processing and light industry, sectors that will account for more than 65 percent of Romania's total exports.

While the varietal structure of Romanian exports of steel rolled products and semifinished products shows some favorable developments suiting the trends and demands of the world market, some shortcomings still persist that impair the overall effectiveness of the exports of iron and steel products. Among the favorable points we note the growing proportion of shaped products (about 17-18 percent in 1984), the relatively high proportion of casing pipes and down pipes, and the increased export of more highly processed products like metal netting, steel chains, etc. But maintenance of a high proportion of thick and medium

sheet steel, with a lower proportion of thin sheet steel, and the still too limited presence among the exports of varieties commanding higher prices have a far greater effect upon the effectiveness of the exports.

In the 1981-1984 period the proportion of steel rolled goods in the exports of the METALEXPORTIMPORT ICE /Foreign Trade Enterprise/ evolved differently in the cases of the Galati CS's three different export items: (1) thick and medium hot-rolled steel sheets and strips 3 and more mm thick (including the strip steel), (2) Thin sheet steel, wide strips and hot- and cold-rolled steel up to 3 mm thick, and (3) galvanized sheet steel and strips.

The proportion of the first item, medium and thick sheet steel, in METALEXPORT-IMPORT's exports increased from 36 percent in 1981 to 41 percent in 1984 thanks to the increased manufacturing capacities and an emphasis on exporting more and more of the output, putting Romania in sixth place in sheet steel production and in fourth place in exporting it after the USSR, Japan and the FRG. But in the last period there were considerable reductions in the exports of thin and galvanized sheet steel of nearly 1 percent each in view of the increased needs of the national economy for those products and the heavy outlays on imports of raw materials needed to manufacture them, and especially on imported zinc.

Calculations of the effectiveness of the exports indicate that for a number of products like medium and thick sheet steel and hot-rolled strips some prices on the foreign market are causing difficulties for many traditional western iron and steel firms.

Accordingly it appears to be a viable solution to restrict the exports to the nation's needs and to use the respective products for processing in other sectors and other productive units so that they will attain higher indicators of export profitability.

The increasingly high production costs of the items thin sheet steel and galvanized sheet steel, due to imports of the raw material along with frozen or declining foreign prices, can lead to a low profitability. These products can be incorporated together with other raw materials, materials and semimanufactured products in more highly processed commodities that sell on the foreign market much better and lead to additional foreign-exchange collections.

The following are a few of the measures for technical and qualitative improvement of the products and structural improvement of production:

- Manufacture of sheet steel for export in the standard varieties in demand on the foreign market and for which the Galati CS has the technical manufacturing equipment, especially for sheet steel less than 10 mm and over 40 mm thick, 1,000-4,500 mm wide, and in all lengths between 4 and 12 meters. One of the Galati CS's outstanding achievements in better use of raw material is the capacity called the "section for welded pipes 1,420 mm in diameter for generators" with an annual capacity of 200,000 tons. It will produce welded pipes of large diameters for natural gas mains. The new manufacturing capacity's entire output is for export.

- Another improvement in the effectiveness of Romanian exports of steel rolled products is the production of commercial sheet steel with a guarantee of the technical parameters and according to the standard norms (BS 4360-50, BC and D1) and especially with observance of the specifications for smoothness, tolerances, surface appearance, etc.

- The increased proportion in the export programs of thermally cut sheet steel (normalized) or of types H1, H2, H3 and 16 Mn5 for boilers and grades B and D nautical sheet steel; qualities R-St 38-3, R-St 42-2 and R-St 42-3 and a of low-alloy sheet steel for pipes welded according to API /International Petroleum Association/ standards, and quality grades A and B x 42x52x56x60x70. Offering sheet steel in the foregoing qualities according to the American, British and West German standards will lead to a considerable increase in the foreign price collected per ton of exported products.

- A higher proportion of the varieties of electrotechnical sheet steels and a wider assortment of standard sizes;

- Increasing the volume of exports of galvanized steel sheets and strips and offering tin-plated steel sheets and strips for export.

The geographic distribution of exports can also have an unfavorable effect upon their effectiveness. In 1984 about 52 percent of Romania's exports of medium and thick sheet steel was concentrated in only three countries (Japan, the United States and the FRG), and the concentration of thin and galvanized sheet steel was much more intensive, the United States, France and the FRG receiving 82 percent of Romania's exports of thin sheet steel and a large portion of the exports of galvanized sheet steel. Therefore it is an urgent and permanent task to diversify the geographic distribution of Romania's exports of steel rolled products in order not only to reduce dependence upon particular markets for sales but also to enhance effectiveness by means of a diversified range and determination of the more suitable times and markets.

5186

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6 March 1986

MILITARY

POLAND

GENERALS DISCUSS CAREERS, DUTIES, UNITS

Gen Zygmunt Zielinski

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Jul 85 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Gen Div Zygmunt Zielinski, director of the Cadre Department in the Ministry of National Defense, by Andrzej Jurczynski: "High Standing of Cadre Operations"; date and place not specified]

[Text] One of the most important subjects discussed at the recent PZPR Central Committee 20th Plenum was the implementation of the "Main Assumptions of PZPR Cadre Policy," accepted at the 18th Plenum. This document also incorporated the experience of the Ministry of National Defense, which has solutions that have been proven in practical operations, and which has for several years been guided by established principles. They are the subject of our interview with Gen Div Zygmunt Zielinski, director of the Cadre Department in the Ministry of National Defense.

Andrzej Jurczynski: "These problems, which had been gradually prepared for solution, were finally solved in the Ministry of National Defense back in 1975, when the "Principles of Cadre Operations in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic" were put into practice.

[Answer] The document mentioned describes cadre conduct and includes the following sections: Personality requirements and the course of service of various groups of regular (professional) soldiers; predicting and guiding the course of this service; establishing and utilizing an accelerated-development fund; selection for leadership positions; stages of training and advancement; system of cadre evaluation; honoring the cadre; and discharge from regular service. We applied specific elements of "Principles of Cadre Operations...", such as cadre inspections, much earlier, as they were being developed, since the overall concept of our cadre policy had already been established.

[Question] What does this policy consist of? What is the substance of this cadre policy?

[Answer] The substance of the cadre policy applied in the army is made up of two groups of problems: The first includes actions relating to forecasts of professional cadre inflow and outflow and controlling this process in accordance with the needs of the service, taking into account the correct proportions between the corps and various specialized groups. This area of our activities, just as all cadre undertakings, involves future action. Hence our forecasts cover a 15-year timeframe. Thanks to forecasting, we can accurately determine the size of recruitment to military schools and establish training in new specialties. Such thinking about tomorrow is particularly important in balancing national needs with those of the individual ministries. It also has farreaching social and economic effects. The second group of problems relate to the qualitative development of cadre and proper control of this process, including training and advancement, and providing a career path for the cadre, ensuring its efficient utilization in service.

[Question] The first condition in cadre operations is evaluation of an individual?

[Answer] Not just the first but the deciding. Cadre operations concern individuals, their opinions, values and predispositions. Individual interests must be reconciled with general interests. General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, in his speech at the PZPR Central Committee 20th Plenum, said: "Cadre policy must be wide open to all those who are dedicated to the socialist fatherland, and it must be tightly sealed against those who do not have its supreme good in mind... When ideology, talent, knowledge and a creative stance are at stake, it is a duty to create conditions for those who want to improve reality, to decisively support them when they come up against inertia and torpor." That is why it is obvious that a penetrating and fair evaluation of people is essential.

In our ministry this is done through annual cadre reviews and periodic evaluations conducted every 5 years. The annual cadre review consists of a concise evaluation of every regular soldier's service values and the results of his work during the past year. This is a form of cadre operation which makes it possible to evaluate a person effectively, to outline his career path to him. Thus the evaluation has an important effect on his future. This review is conducted on all command levels. It ends with a conversation in which the superior informs the subordinate of the evaluation made on him. There is a large educational aspect in this, spurring the soldier on to even better performance of duties.

The cadre review also provides a certain psychological comfort to the professional soldier when he knows how his work has been evaluated and what his future may be.

[Question] Are these reviews a starting point for further actions, as, for example, the creation of cadre reserves?

[Answer] Certainly. In the army, these reserves are called an accelerated-development fund (ADF). During the cadre review, those who received the highest ratings are included in the fund, and those who received the lowest ratings are excluded. Here this dynamism of action, which we mentioned

earlier, is clearly seen. The importance of ADF lies in selecting the most valuable people with the best future and creating for them optimal conditions for assuming successively higher staff and command and specialist positions. In developing the principles of the fund, we chose, as the starting point, a description of the postulated profile of a soldier, covering requirements as to his personality, ideological stance, qualifications, and a model of service performance. In addition to the general model, there is also a detailed model for every personnel corps and different specialties. As a result, we can make full use of all of an individual's mental and physical traits, his abilities and predispositions, and also ensure him the most appropriate career path.

[Question] What can a person who is listed in the ADF expect?

[Answer] First of all, he must devote a great deal of attention to improving his skills and undergo various forms of training. In the army, all professional soldiers are required by law to submit to training and improvement of qualifications. And this particularly pertains to ADF officers. This fund is our main source for assignment of officers to higher staff and command and political posts. A person on the ADF list can also anticipate faster promotion to a higher position, but this also means special training, and experience in lower positions, i.e., he must have tread the planned path for a given function.

At the same time, I want to say that in making assignments to responsible service positions, a special candidate-training program is in effect in the Armed Forces. It includes short courses and practice. Another way in which a candidate can prove himself for a leadership function is by fulfilling the duties on a probationary basis. If he passes this test within a specified time limit, he is confirmed for the new position, If not, he returns to a previous or parallel position.

[Question] In addition to the vertical promotions you describe here, are there any possibilities of horizontal advancement?

[Answer] Certainly, if skills are increased. I will cite only some. Regular (professional) noncommissioned officers and cadets may achieve military specialty grades--from third to master. For each of them the soldier receives an additional monetary allowance. Officers, however, may obtain educational degrees and compete in various forms of contests.

[Question] How can the implementation of cadre policy be assessed on the ministerial scale?

[Answer] The "Principles..." have become a disciplining factor in all of the cadre operations in the ministry. They improve operations and ensure honest interpersonal work. On one hand, they constitute a uniform interpretation in the conduct of cadre policy, and on the other hand they require all superiors to observe them strictly in everyday practice. There is a precise system of inspection and accountability in this area. At the last plenum, General Jaruzelski said on subject: "There is no implementation without inspection."

Another factor which guaranteed success in implementing the "Principles..." was the inclusion of the results of a wide-scale discussion at the time they were being developed. Many regular soldiers took part in this discussion. Thus, they are the result of the thinking of all professional soldiers. Thanks to this, we can also say that the entire regular army approved of these principles and became familiar with them. We are trying to eliminate all deviations from these principles, because it would take only one mistake on the part of each superior to make hundreds of them on the ministerial scale.

[Question] How would you sum up what has been said here? What general conclusions can be drawn?

[Answer] Good. Let us try to make such a summing-up. First, there can be no thought about effective cadre operations without general assumptions and a uniform system; all cadre operations must be subordinated to specific principles and must take place openly. Second, the supreme value which determines the effectiveness of cadre work is further humanization and a greater climate of full confidence by the people in cadre practice. Third, only consistent and constant application of the binding principles by the entire leadership cadre will assist in implementing the postulate--the right person in the right place.

[Question] What next? What are the cadre plans for the future?

[Answer] We will continue to perfect the mechanisms of cadre operation and consolidate public acceptance of cadre policy. We will concentrate our attention on evaluating soldiers more thoroughly, determining their predispositions and spotting their talents. We will strive to expand the reserve cadre at the middle level of command. We will also continue to define the service model of various specialties. Our goal is to humanize cadre operations. At the beginning of our conversation I talked about the 15-year timeframe of these operations. It is now 1985 and simple calculation tells us that we must prepare ourselves for entry into the 21st century.

Gen Wladyslaw Hermaszewski

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Aug 85 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Gen Brig Wladyslaw Hermaszewski, president of the main board of the Polish People's Republic Aeroclub, by Wojciech Kiss-Orski: "Art of Flying"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] General, you have been in the army for 39 years and you are constantly flying. Why is it that you haven't gotten bored with it?

[Answer] How can flying be boring? It seems to me that it cannot. I look upon this as something of a marvel. For centuries, man has wanted to tear himself away from earth and this still continues to fascinate people. It is difficult for me to explain this rationally, despite the fact that piloting an airship is a function which is rational from beginning to end. For me, flying has been and continues to be an enormous passion. Although I am no longer piloting jets but sports planes, every flight for me is a real thrill.

[Question] On what, then, is the art of flying based?

[Answer] I will reply without a shred of romanticism. To me, it is the ability to divide attention and coordinate many actions which require piloting and technical precision.

[Question] Certainly this viewpoint would not satisfy very many people. After all, this is a dry, textbook definition.

[Answer] Yes. But in my opinion, this is what flying comes down to. All other frequently colored and imagined statements on this subject are literature. Romanticism ends at the moment the plane and the pilot, after the plane has left the ground, must become as one, working as a team. There simply is no time for romanticism.

[Question] You have spent almost 5,000 hours in the cockpit. Always with that passion?

[Answer] Always. I wonder about this myself. So many thousands of hours in different cockpits, more and more modern, crammed with instruments and devices which require constant attention and the highest concentration. And yet one likes this and gives himself up to it totally. But frankly speaking, there were times when it would have taken very little for me to give up flying...

[Question] ...probably papa did not allow the young boy to fly?

[Answer] No, that was not it. Papa was no longer living then. He was killed in 1943. My early aviation career was different from those of many others. There was no family tradition, no beginnings in a flying club. To this day I don't really know what drew me to aviation. In 1948 I applied as a volunteer at Deblin and after passing the tests and medical examinations I was accepted. I wanted to be a fighter pilot, nothing else. But to return to your question... the instructor who took me up on my first familiarization flight, in a UT-2 training plane, behaved rather badly, I think. He executed a set of basic acrobatic maneuvers that were a real shock for someone unaccustomed to being in the air. I was half-conscious and when we landed I wondered whether or not I shouldn't abandon the thought of flying. But another instructor, Warrant Officer Pietrucha, brought me around and taught me to like flying. He was a good teacher, an instructor pilot by calling, and it is thanks to him that I am still flying today.

[Question] When did the real, dreamed-of, fighter-plane flying begin for you?

[Answer] In 1949 after completing training on the JAK-9 aircraft. That was truly a beautiful machine. When it took off with its graceful silhouette, small wings, and 1,200 horsepower engine, it looked like a rocket. During flight the air seemed to change into modeling paste, and this was felt both in the controls and in oneself. It was then that I fell in love with flying for good, and because I began to get grades which, I must say, were better than good, I was doubly happy.

[Question] According to many pilots, the JAK-9 was really a class fighter-plane, but after all, the era of jet aircraft was approaching. You spoke about the aviation of the 1950's, which was just before important changes took place.

[Answer] After a promotion in the Air Force Officers School in Deblin, I was assigned to a fighter-aircraft unit which was commanded then by Maj Edward Chromy. Later I served in the capital, in Bemowo. And that is when these important changes that I spoke of began--the adventures with jets. At Bemowo, 14 airmen were selected for training on jet aircraft, including me, who was the youngest, both in age and in length of service. We were sent to a Soviet air base. At that time everything was maintained in the highest secrecy so we did not learn where we were to land and why an LI-2 was accompanying us until we were in the air. We trained for several months. First these were JAK-17s. When we returned again we trained on JAK-23s, and then on successive versions of MIGs.

[Question] You are today probably the only actively flying representative of that first postwar generation of Polish fighter pilots who were the first to fly jet aircraft.

[Answer] No, I am not the only one. There are two of us. Col Smolik is still flying. Of the better-known pilots of that period, who later performed important functions in Polish aviation, we should mention Capt Tadeusz Krepski, later a general, commander of the aviation troops, and Capt Stanislaw Tanan, now an aviation colonel.

[Question] The move from a propeller plane to a jet plane must have been a great experience.

[Answer] An enormous one. Such a machine aroused real respect. Different velocity, swept wings, no propeller in front--to which one had been so accustomed, an airtight cockpit--in short, completely different engineering, really an epochal leap. Only one thing in all of this did not change--the essence of flying. The pilot always had to know how to anticipate and be prepared in flight for every eventuality. By so doing he saved himself a lot of emotion and unwanted troubles.

[Question] And were there such moments?

[Answer] Without them there is no flying. I happened to be very fortunate. In 1952 I made a forced landing in Bemowo in a MIG-15 with a dead engine, which, given the experience and instruction of that time, should not have been possible. I was already over the airfield and entering the third turn when the engine died. I was still able to make the third turn--a short one, but the fun began with the fourth. With the engine gone, I had to maneuver the speed of falling so as to be within the boundaries of the airfield. I lowered the landing gear at the last second, but the plane began to drop dangerously anyway. I was falling directly on the hangar. Probably subconsciously I then released the flaps, which gave the plane a little more aerodynamic lift, thanks to which the hangar is still standing and I'm living.

[Question] Many Varsovians remember the flybys, which unfortunately are no longer seen. You looked down at Warsaw from the plane in those days.

[Answer] I took part as a pilot in all air parades in postwar Poland. They included the dedication of Dzierzynski Square in 1951, when for the first time, with others, I demonstrated the JAK-23 jet; in 1955 during the youth and student festival in Warsaw; in 1953 in Katowice; in 1954 over Lublin for the 20th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic; and in 1960 I led a formation of 64 MIG-17 planes over the Grunwald battlefields. I also took part in the air parade of the Millenium observances in 1966.

[Question] Almost 5,000 hours in planes, i.e., almost 7 months without interruption, dozens of different kinds of planes, and now you are flying the Zliny and Kolibry sports planes in the aeroclub. What was your first flight like? Do you remember it?

[Answer] It was in Deblin. I made it in a UT-2, a 125-horsepower single-engine low-wing monoplane, which could reach a velocity of 160 kilometers per hour. I was so happy that I was flying solo that I yelled with joy. I yelled so loud my friends on the ground must have heard me.

[Question] In Krosno at the aeroclub one of the two remaining CSS-13 planes, i.e., the licensed PO-2, called the "kukuruznik" [a type of Russian aircraft], is still flying. I know that you flew it not too long ago. It is probably similar to the plane on which you first began as a pilot.

[Answer] Except that it is a biplane. The engine is the same. Of course, flying the "kukuruznik" today is an emotional experience. An open cockpit, an engine in which the valve lifters jump up and down during flight... anyway, there is a rather amusing history bound up with this plane. In 1953, when I was commander of a squadron in Bemowo, we received a liaison "kukuruznik." But no one knew how to pilot it. I was assigned to test-fly it. When everything went well and I began to fly it regularly, I was assigned to drop parachutists. The parachutist sat in the forward cabin and the plane was piloted from the second cabin, which was not very comfortable. So when the parachutist jumped, I changed seats in-flight to the first cabin and that is how I landed. One day after landing the commander charged me with violating regulations, because dropping parachutists from the second cabin was not allowed. I explained that--as I believed at the time--I did not violate any regulations because I simply changed seats in-flight. Of course I was severely punished and I never did that again.

[Question] You mentioned in the beginning that your family did not have an influence on your going into aviation. Did your two younger brothers, Boguslaw and Miroslaw, go in because you did?

[Answer] I don't know that they followed my example. Perhaps they answered their own call, just as I did.

[Question] General, let us end our conversation on a festive note. Today marks 41 years since the the first formations of the Polish People's Air Force

joined the frontline battles with the Germans, executing operations in the region of Warka and Magnuszew. The 23rd of September 1944 marks the beginning of annual observances of Air Force Day. In connection with this holiday, what would you like to say to the people in the Polish Air Force?

[Answer] First of all, my sincerest esteem and respect to all of the veterans of our Polish aviation, the people who spilled their blood for Poland, and who in the postwar years with such dedication and commitment gave of themselves to educate and train the present generations of airmen. I want to express my gratitude to all of those who regularly, in the regional aeroclubs, stint no time or effort in training the young people. And finally, to all young and ambitious boys and girls: May they want to become part of what is, in my opinion, the most magnificent field of this age.

Gen Jerzy Skalski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 85 p 3

[Interview with Gen Div Jerzy Skalski, commandant of the Warsaw Military District, by Stanislaw Reperowicz; date and place not given]

[Text] On 14 September 1944, units of the Polish First Army, in cooperation with the Soviet Army, liberated rightbank Warsaw-Prague and hurried to the aid of the insurgents. The Polish detachments, after forging the Vistula, established two bridgeheads on its left bank: one at Czerniakow and the other at Zoliborz. At the cost of an enormous toll of lives, they held them until 23 September, when under the pressure of the enemy's overwhelming strength, decimated, they were forced to retreat to the Prague shore. They forged the Vistula River again on 17 January 1945 and liberated the capital. They then took part in restoring ancient Polish lands, as far as the Odra, Nysa-Luzycka, and Baltic, to the mother country.

In the Warsaw Military District there are units which are continuing the frontline history of the divisions and regiments which 41 years ago spilled their blood on the streets of Warsaw. Several of them have been honored by naming them "Warsavian" and "Praguean". I asked General Skalski how these beautiful combat traditions are known, respected, and developed by today's generation of soldiers.

[General Skalski's answer] We acquaint our successors with the broad panorama of Polish fortunes and misfortunes. We teach our soldiers that first there was the tragic September of 1939, when the weakness of the social and state system and the lack of the right political and military alliances led Poland to the loss of its independence. The second September, in 1944, and the restoration of independence, became possible because the Polish left drew the correct conclusions from the previous September and based its struggle for liberation on an alliance with the Soviet Union. Now we have another September, the 41st in peace, in a year in which we observed the 40th anniversary of the victory over nazism. It is important to Poles also because of the approaching elections to the Sejm. This is indispensable to the security of the Polish People's Republic.

The traditions of the battle for Warsaw are very dear to us all. The mermaid in the crest of the city of Warsaw is a symbol of this. Furthermore, the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Warsaw Military District (WMD), which occurs this year, will be observed on 14 September (by working) to honor the liberators of Warsaw.

[Question] This anniversary is an excellent occasion to take a look at the past.

[Answer] This was a past of struggle, loyal service, and intense work for the fatherland. The WMD soldier who performed peaceful sentry duty on the Vistula, Bug, Narew and San rivers in the first days of the People's Republic performed two basic functions: He defended the recovered independence and he participated in establishing a new social order; he cleared the land of mines and divided it among the peasants in the agricultural reform; and he helped the settlers arriving in Warmia and Mazury and in the rebuilding of Warsaw.

[Question] I would like to ask about the place of the WMD in the armed forces.

[Answer] The WMD soldiers in executing their assignments in the country's defense system prepare themselves to defend independence and socialist achievements. Ties of friendship bind us with the soldiers of the Warsaw Pact armies. Our district maintains particularly close contact with our closest neighbor, the Belorussian Soviet Army District.

The WMD is made up of units which have various assignments in the performance of defense tasks. The favorable evaluations which they obtain during inspections by higher commands attest to the fact that they perform their duties properly. Each year several WMD detachments are singled out for distinction in the Ministry of Defense training order. Our artillery, chemical, antiaircraft, antitank, and reconnaissance personnel receive high standings in the army's top-level combat-utility competitions. We have unquestionable achievements in the development and application of modern mobilization and alarm systems and effective methods of training personnel reserves. Last year the number of top personnel designated exemplary soldiers, commanders or leaders, doubled.

[Question] To be designated "Exemplary Soldier" requires a great deal of effort, far beyond normal duty requirements. Despite that, thousands of young people achieve this each year.

[Answer] That is the result of the educational influence of the army on the young citizens called up for basic military duty. Young, raw, and sometimes somewhat frightened boys, not quite 20 years old, come to us. We teach them the defense craft, but we also teach them to live in a group. We inculcate civic attitudes and convince them that solid work is the basic duty of every Pole. After 2 years, when they go into the reserves, they are already men, physically fit, mentally strong, ideologically committed, prepared properly to perform their duties to the fatherland and the nation. They are socially mature.

Two years of service are a strong influence on a soldier's personality. Actually, the entire term of military service serves to shape attitudes. Planned political training, participation in social life, work in party and youth organizations--all teach respect for human generosity and effort and draw out the values of socialism.

Last year in the WMD several hundred more soldiers were accepted as candidates for the PZPR than in 1983. However, during the first quarter of this year alone twice as many soldiers joined the party than during the same period last year. These changes in soldiers' attitudes during military service are even more evident when we look at the growth of membership in the ZSMP (Union of Socialist Polish Youth). As a rule, during conscription, scarcely a few members of youth organizations are found in each subunit, while several score are unaffiliated. When they complete their service, at least every other soldier is a member of ZSMP.

[Question] We see that the ties between the army and society are growing stronger.

[Answer] We maintain them primarily with the working class and the countryside. Workers and farmers are our guests and we are theirs. We try not to lose contact with reservists, former professional soldiers, and former soldiers in the regular service. Many party and youth activists are recruited from among them. In our district over 100 educational institutions are named after heroes of the Polish People's Army, or after frontline military units. This makes it easier to reach the youth studying in these institutions. The officers working as instructors in the ZHP (Polish Scout Union) can be very proud of their good achievements. Military units are patrons of over half of the various types of schools, state children's homes, and youth arts and sports groups. All these contacts bring youth closer to the military and to the ideals which it serves. They promote patriotic and internationalistic attitudes in the young generation.

[Question] The examples given speak of the participation of the army in a nationwide program for bringing up the young generation to be knowledgeable builders of a just, thriving and secure Poland. The participation of our armed forces in overcoming the socioeconomic crisis is also well-known.

[Answer] Our soldiers participate in this process in all kinds of ways. There are various functional units in WMD and in the army. Some of the units, as, for example, the territorial defense units, specialize in performing production-training tasks. They build roads, railroad tracks, houses, factories, repair municipal equipment, and work in key industrial facilities. In Warsaw they worked on rebuilding all of the important buildings.

In addition, the remaining units, called line units, also work for the economy and society. For example, WMD engineers build several bridges each year for the civilian population. Other units recently dug over 30 deep wells in Radom Province in villages which had no potable water. Currently, WMD soldiers are working on construction of a metro and reconstruction of the capital's transportation system. Although it is already 40 years since the end of the

war, engineering patrols in the WMD recover approximately 100,000 deadly objects from the ground each year, thus saving many human lives.

In helping the country, they are learning. Every fifth soldier in the WMD acquires a vocation in the army, and every second or third improves the skills he already has.

[Question] I have heard that the army teaches good management.

[Answer] We try to teach the soldiers the habit of economizing on everything: weapons, spare parts, fuels, energy, etc. In this way we want to establish a sense of concern for public property. We also teach correct organization of work, which helps to improve management efficiency.

We produce many things ourselves, thus reducing budgetary expenditures. For example, most of the training aids are made by the soldiers themselves under cadre direction. The houses and preschools built by the army greatly alleviate the housing shortage in some garrisons and increase the number of educational institutions. The WMD health services supplies the social health service with large amounts of blood and produces, for its own needs, infusion fluids which are hard to obtain. It organizes herb-gathering by soldiers.

The idle farmlands on the fringes of firing ranges have been developed in recent years and now yield almost 31 quintals per hectare. The hogs and cattle raised near the barracks cover approximately 50 percent of the WMD meat requirements. Expanded cultivation of vegetables under plastic, delicatessen-confectionary production, fruits and vegetable processing, meet the need of many units.

The construction of inexpensive little houses on firing ranges out of old railroad cars and forest windfalls is another endeavor worth mentioning. These little houses are very functional and much cheaper than tents. The cooperation of the WMD billeting and construction services with scientists in the construction of new concrete sewage-treatment plants and water-purification facilities is very important for environmental protection.

[Question] In thanking you for the interview, General, I would like to say that society highly appreciates the achievements of the WMD in strengthening the country's defenses and the national economy. The fact that the soldiers of this district have been entrusted with many important electoral posts is an expression of this regard. In the WMD, 147 professional soldiers are active in the leadership of local party echelons, 197 are councillors at various levels, over 800 are in PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth), 727 are in ZHP, and almost 300 are in civilian ZSMP boards.

The submission of your name, Comrade General, by the Provincial Elections Advisory Council, as candidate for deputy on the district ballot in Warsaw, is the highest proof of this esteem and confidence.

Gen Tadeusz Tuczapski

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish 13 Oct 85 p 3

[Interview with Gen Arms Tadeusz Tuczapski, deputy minister of national defense, chief inspector of territorial defense, by Henryk Kucharski, editor of SKRZYDLATA POLSKA; date and place not given]

[Question] The Polish People's Republic Aeroclub greeted the 40th anniversary of the reactivation of its operations with some splendid successes on the international arena. They include the individual and group aircraft world championship in precision flying, won in August; the group and individual gold medals won late in August and early September for the world championship in glider acrobatics; and the Aeroclub team's first place in individual and group competitions for the world championship in aerospace model-making, also in late August and early September. Do these achievements, in your opinion, General, fully reflect the 40-years' work of the Aeroclub and do they show that this organization is working properly and in the right direction?

[Answer] These wins, which bring fame throughout the world for the skillfulness of Polish pilots and modelists and are good publicity for our equipment, apply to only a small segment of our operations. In addition to the relatively still-selective airplane and glider operations, and model-making on quite a large scale, the Aeroclub's statutory operations cover a much wider range of problems. These include our expanding work with the young people, the entire system of airplane, glider, balloon and parachutist training, the spreading of knowledge among the people about aviation and its traditions, the development and dissemination of aviation and aerospace sports, the practice of aviation and aerospace model-making, cooperation with the army in preparing candidates for aviation schools and service in the air and airborne landing forces, etc. In all of these areas, the Aeroclub is getting definite results, albeit not as much as it would hope for, or could. But they are evident, attest to the increasingly better operations of the particular elements of the Aeroclub, and contribute to its overall achievements. This means that one must look more broadly at the traditions and achievements of this organization, which is, after all, a very useful society, than simply through its international successes in aviation sports.

[Question] You mentioned the wide-scale work being done by the Aeroclub among the youth, work that is being increasingly expanded. Would you please say more on this subject?

[Answer] The Polish People's Republic Aeroclub, just as many other organizations and societies, devotes a great deal of attention to large-scale work with young people and regards this work to be one of its primary tasks. It is from this environment that candidates for future contestants and activists are recruited, and it is this environment that is particularly responsive to the Aeroclub's attractive forms of operation. This environment is also one that needs society's influence very much.

In our wide-scale work with young people, aside from training them in various aviation disciplines, polytechnic training, mainly in different types of

model-shops, plays an important part. We also place very high value on defense of patriotism, expansion of interests, adherence to national traditions--and not just those of the air forces, social activeness, and a deep interest in community and welfare work.

The young people who are members of the Aeroclub, but even those who are not members but who encounter the work of this organization, thus have many opportunities to develop creatively and properly utilize their abilities and predispositions, expand their knowledge, and improve their skills, e.g., in model-making, flying, jumping, etc.

[Question] Are there definite benefits to the Armed Forces and the country's defenses out of all this?

[Answer] The Polish People's Republic Aeroclub, a highly useful society, fulfills an important function in the life of the country and its people, both by popularizing traditions, as well as by its ongoing achievements. Thus its activities cannot help but be connected with everything that is happening in the country and they are very important. They serve the state and society, if only by shaping social attitudes, offering polytechnic training to the young generations, preparing candidates for specific vocations, as, e.g., a pilot for agricultural or transportation aviation.

The Aeroclub prepares youth for service in the air force and in the airborne troops detachments. It makes it possible for them to study to be pilots, to learn navigational secrets, jump from an airplane, and stay in good physical conditions through participation in aviation sports. It also makes it possible for reservists to maintain constant efficiency and prepares candidates for the Higher Officers Aviation School as well as military aviation schools in general. It also executes tasks in the field of civil defense. All of this, after all, serves the country and its defenses.

During the entire past 40 years, the Aeroclub always demonstrated obvious results in this field and for this praise is due not only to the full-time employees of this society, but also to the vast number of volunteers who unstintingly contribute their own time and labor to multiply the Aeroclub's achievements, attaining better and better results within the country as well as abroad. I would therefore like to take advantage of this anniversary to send sincere military greetings to the aktiv and all Aeroclub members, to wish them further splendid successes in their daily activities and all kinds of good luck in their personal life.

Gen Longin Lozowicki

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 13 Oct 85 pp 5, 7

[Article by Zbigniew Damski: "A Sketch for a Nonceremonial Portrait"]

[Text] If a person in any kind of position says that he absolutely has no time for anything, then he is not fit for that position and should resign, because he simply does not know how to organize his work.

I emphasize that statement heavily because although I waited for a meeting with its author, he did find the time.

Ask the commander of the National Air Defense Forces (WOPK) where and what kind? Nonsense. And meanwhile Gen Div Longin Lozowicki smiles pleasantly and adds:

--It is worse with private time, time for oneself. I like to hunt, and this year I was only able to go out with a rifle once. I was fishing about three times, and worked in the garden plot probably about five times...

But on that garden plot (... really a working plot, without a dacha...) there is a telephone and in the official vehicle, which stands nearby, there is a two-way radio. The same holds true when on the river or lake, where the fish are.

--You say that I am always "on a leash?" Those are the obligations.

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It was said of the WOPK once that those are "the first 5-minutes forces.

--Today that is no longer true, says the general. Maybe three, or even less...

Well, people are thinking. Too bad that they are thinking about how to annihilate others most effectively, but regrets alone are of no help here. We must defend ourselves. That is what the forces commanded by General Lozowicki are for. How can one describe most simply, and in an understandable way, what these forces are and what are their assignments?

They fall into two basic groups: means of detection and means of combating. The first group is comprised of radio-engineering troops, the second is made up of aviation and artillery, both rocket and gun. Altogether it is a compact and closely interrelated system, covering the entire country with its network, with particular attention to the most sensitive regions, e.g., open borders.

Understandably, a possible air attack should be detected as soon as possible, as far as possible from our own borders (these speeds today!) and at all altitudes. This is what the most modern radio and electronics equipment is for, because time here is counted in seconds. To service this equipment, people with the highest professional skills are required--but more than that...

continues. Here everything can depend on an ordinary operator, a soldier in the regular service. And man always decides: a machine only supplies him with the information.

It just happens that right now the film "Star Wars" is being shown in the Warsaw theaters. It depicts the mad vision of a "thinking computer" which,

once it is recklessly put into operation, whips people into unleashing a nuclear catastrophe. Brr...

--But even in this film, in the end man did the deciding. That is a good sign, but that is also why we demand a great deal of our people.

It takes an excellent and self-reliant pilot to take off on an "interception" assignment, a beautifully trained crew to launch various types of rockets (those to bring down targets at low ceilings, great distances, etc.), and well-staffed antiaircraft gun detachments, which low-flying pilots have always feared so much. But what an enormous responsibility is borne by the person who decides that the planes will take off or that the rockets will be fired.

--That is true, General Lozowicki says. but we are operating in a well-organized system. Not just a system within our own country: this system also encompasses our neighbors, the entire defensive socialist community. Our "protective shield," for example, is supported by Soviet satellite stations, which ensures our main goal: "There can be no surprises." And if we add to this the certainty that everyone will do in his position what is assigned to him and do it well...

--And where does this certainty come from? After all, right now the entire country is talking only about that, about results, because they are not always apparent...

--...because people must be properly selected, educated and trained, and mainly, their work or service must be organized. Sensibly, so that everyone can see the sense in it, everyone knows his place and feels that he is fully responsible for it. In our service we had to attain this. Furthermore, there can be no "irreplaceable" people: In this system it is inconceivable that there may be a vacancy in some position because someone got sick, for example. There is a firm rule in WOPK that everyone must have a trained substitute and successor.

And here the general again smiles, but with perversity:

--...and that is why I can go on leave for a whole month and not have to call my office even once. I know that when my presence is indispensable, they will find me. I simply must trust and believe my subordinates.

*

It is not necessary to add that everything that concerns the activities of the WOPK and the complex duties and responsibilities of its commander, has been presented only in a very general way, sketched with a broad brush. But I think it is sufficient to grasp their real dimensions and the importance of that which they serve.

--And how does one become commander of such a powerful and complicated machine as the WOPK?

--That is a rather long and complicated story. Basically, I became interested in air defense problems during my year of service in Korea, in the International Commission for Control and Supervision. I was there in 1953 when the cease-fire at Panmunjom was signed, but I also saw the tremendous destruction, and the poor efficiency with which modern planes, because they were already jets, were fought by old, traditional methods of combat. After I returned I concerned myself with these matters in the appropriate division of the General Staff.

Here we must begin to "count backwards." If the man who is a general today was born in 1926 and was already an officer in 1953 (and one worthy of representing the armed forces abroad), when did he begin?

--Early, just like the rest of my entire generation. Of necessity.

*

Wolyn, 1939. The village of Nowa Czolnica has only a four-grades school. In order to go on, one must go to Przebraza, 5 kilometers away. That is where the partisans were, and that is where he helped to defend Poland, in Przebraza.

---and we defended there until February 1944, when we were liberated by the Soviet Army. In March I was already in Sumy, where the 4th Inf Div was being formed. I was very lucky that I was 17 years old, because they didn't accept anyone younger than that.

Officers school in Riazan, a second lieutenant's star, and then assignment as deputy commander of the 37th Inf Regt, 7th Inf Div. Lublin, Radzyn Podlaski, and from there in the first months of the severe 1945 winter the 37th Inf Regt began its long trek through Poland, together with the entire 2d Polish Army.

--No one has yet described this long journey. And it was really an odyssey, through Kutno, Krzyz and Gorzow, and from there through the Poznan and Wroclaw regions. We did not reach the Nysa [River] until 10 April.

Fording the river (...I waded, holding on to a taut rope, up to my neck in water...), several days of heavy combat on the left bank.

--I was at that river many times years later. And I always looked at it with amazement: Such a dinky little river...

At Daubitz, repulsing the attacks of Field Marshall Schorner's advanced armor units, he was wounded in the hand. A miserable hospital in a brick factory, in what today is Ruszow. When the next wounded from his regiment were brought in, he simply escaped with the drivers. He still made it to fight in Czechoslovakia, near Rumburk. When the war ended, 11 May 1945, he was 4 kilometers from Mielnik, in Czechoslovakia.

--I was 19 years old then, a lieutenant and a company commander. Not a large company: out of 70 people, 22 remained.

*

The end of the war, new matters. First, along with his augmented company, he "farms" in the region of Zgorzelec and Bogatynia. There is no victory without bread. Then other problems fall to him in that part of the country: the campaign to evacuate the Germans and resettle the repatriates from the eastern areas in the recovered territories.

--And what then? Still in Chorzow the defense of the referendum and immediately an assignment to the Infantry Training Center in Rembertow, command of a noncommissioned officers school for a while, and in 1949, the beginning of 3 years of study at the General Staff Academy. Then the already mentioned year in Korea, work in the General Staff, and finally, in 1968, the WOPK.

These last parts of the military resume sound rather dull, but my interlocutor has this fine gift of reducing matters to ordinary, human dimensions:

--...and during those years I had to move 18 times. Except that then a person was young and didn't have much to take along with him...

Here General Lozowicki falls silent for a moment, as if looking back into the past, and finally adds:

--That is why I now find my garden to be so satisfying. It is really as if a person were somehow returning to his own roots.

*

He will have to help his wife in gathering the crops from this garden.

--Because, somehow, the young ones are not very eager..

The "young ones", both sons, are in the neighborhood of "30". They have college educations, and work (or rather, serve, because the older one is in the militia and the younger one is in the army. They have families, and there are two granddaughters.

--Strange, but one somehow looks differently at grandchildren. No, he is not saying that he loves them any more than he did his own children when they were little, but....?

On the subject of family the general has a definite opinion: that is the foundation. A good family. A real family. People who know how to establish such a family for themselves are, aside from everything else, "socially valuable." The general has a wealth of experience on this: three-fourths of the WOPK staff are professional cadre, and the troubles and problems with people and their service performance most frequently arise where some kind of family discord exists.

But these discords today often depend on objective factors: financial conditions, lack of housing...

--That is exactly what I was aiming at.

General Lozowicki asks the following basic question: Does housing construction require "foreign-exchange intensive" import? No! We have all of the basic raw materials right here in our own country, and there is enough "processing capacity" if...

--I often travel throughout the country, the general continues, because my work requires it. And I must concern myself with matters of the areas where OPK troops are stationed. The housing construction field is a veritable jungle. In some areas there are enough materials, but money is lacking. In others, the money is there but there is a shortage of contractors, or materials. What is really lacking in such a case? ORGANIZATION! Organization, and once more, organization. Healthy, sensible organization, where action is directed at achieving the desired goal.

As in the WOPK. That is my own comment added to the general's words. Incidentally, it is too bad that Gen Div Longin Lozowicki is not running for deputy in my district.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

RECENT HIGH-LEVEL CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT EVALUATED

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Waltraud Baryli: "Changes in Party Leadership and Government"]

[Text] Two months before the Bulgarian CP congress, a reshuffle of some significance has been carried out in the leading bodies of the party and government by an "enlarged plenum" of the Central Committee that met on Friday 24 and Saturday 25 January in Sofia, followed 2 days later by a meeting of the National Assembly. The promotions and penalties that were decided on do not include any major surprise, however they do strengthen the position of two men who had already been in the ascendancy for about 2 years: Ognian Doynov, who has been appearing more and more as the big expert on economic issues, and Chudomir Aleksandrov, now member of both the Political Bureau and the Central Committee Secretariat, which puts him in a suitable position to assume, if need be, all or part of the functions of the party secretary general, Todor Zhivkov.

The latter, 75 years old and in power for more than 30 years, is certainly fit as a fiddle, but since the accession to power of Mr Gorbachev in Moscow the gerontocracy is really no longer in fashion, and Mr Zhivkov's personal position seems less unshakeable than in the past, while the country's economy, subject to increasing demands by the USSR, also seems clearly less hearty.

In principle, the transfers and reorganizations that have been carried out, particularly within the government, are dictated by the concern to better deal with the "scientific and technical revolution." Mr Zhivkov told the Parliament: there lies "the key, and even the superkey, to the building of the new Bulgarian society."

Men on the Rise

Vienna--Three councils--an economic council, social council, and council for science, culture and education--will henceforth coordinate the activities of the ministries and institutions concerned, while the creation of a "superministry" of commerce is regarded as helping to harmonize production and supply to the market. These are the main innovations characterizing the new organization chart of the Bulgarian Government, within which the relative weight of the "technocrats" seems increased.

Leadership of the most important of these councils--the economic council--has been entrusted to Ognian Doynov, a 50-year-old engineer, who is at the same time member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee, and minister of machine building. Mr Doynov--who is regarded as close to the Zhivkov family--is the only Bulgarian leader to combine such functions.

The second rising star in the Bulgarian party is Chudomir Aleksandrov, a 50-year-old engineer who studied in Leningrad. Mr Aleksandrov, appointed Central Committee secretary, had already occupied this position from 1981 to 1984. He is a member of the Political Bureau and first deputy prime minister since 1984, a post that he left to return to the Central Committee Secretariat, where he will be in charge of scientific and technological matters. According to some observers, Aleksandrov is among the possible candidates to succeed Todor Zhivkov, who is 75 and the "doyen" of the Eastern leaders, and who some say intends to retire.

Among the main victims of the reshuffle is Todor Bojinov, Political Bureau member, minister of supply and deputy prime minister, and Stanish Bonev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and deputy prime minister, who were relieved of all their functions. They were apparently punished for their responsibility in the economic management failures and have been strongly criticized in the Bulgarian press during the last few months.

On other hand, we should mention among those who are "rising" Stoyan Markov, an electronics engineer, 43, named in 1985 to head the Science Committee--renamed the Research and Technology Committee--and now promoted to alternate member of the Political Bureau. He has also been named first deputy prime minister succeeding Mr Aleksandrov.

On the ministerial level, the establishment of a superministry, with the simple title of ministry of commerce, in charge simultaneously of production, supply, foreign trade and resources, seems indeed to strengthen centralization, whose rigidity has already been criticized in the Bulgarian press as responsible for the economy's sluggishness and lack of efficiency. This ministry will be directed by Hristo Hristov, until now minister of foreign trade.

The former ministries of production, trade in consumer products, foreign trade, supply and construction have been eliminated, and some of their directors named to other posts.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN DAILY REPORTS ON ALBANIAN AFFAIRS

AU311957 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 29 January 1986 carries two articles on Albanian affairs: on page 5, an 800-word "own correspondent" report on the Albanian economic plan for 1986, entitled "An Ambitious Program for Future Development;" and a 1,000-word travelogue by Lyubomir Kolarov on page 7 entitled "In the Mat Gorge."

The first report gives a factual account of the proceedings at the eighth session of the 10th National Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, held in mid-January 1986. It reports on the "approval of the plan for social-economic development of the country and the budget for 1986." The report also gives details of the economic plan fulfillment for 1985 in industry and agriculture, mentioning that "in 1985, 120 important national-economy and social-cultural installations were brought into operation."

The report then gives a factual account of the economic plan of Albania for 1986, providing for increases in the gross national product, in petroleum and gas production, mining, engineering, and other branches of industry, as well as in agriculture. Some details are also given of the 1986 state budget. The article is generally positive in tone.

Lyuben Kolarov's "report" from Albania bears the subheading: "A Sunday spent near the great river--giver of electric power and water for the national economy." Kolarov first emphasizes the wealth of water resources enjoyed by Albania, notwithstanding the drought suffered in 1985. He then continues with an account of his car trip to the Mat Gorge, about 70 km north of Tirana, emphasizing the natural beauties of the area, and giving population and geographical data. Kolarov then gives an account of his visit to the "Karl Marx" hydroelectric station in the Mat Gorge, the present capacity of which--300,000 kilowatt-hours--Kolarov notes will be increased to 2 billion kilowatt-hours when the four turbines imported from France are commissioned. Kolarov emphasizes that the region contains "marvelous places for recreation and the development of tourism."

Kolarov then describes his visit to the town of Ulze, mentioning a poster he saw announcing a meeting of the local organization of "the Democratic Front of Albania (equivalent to our Fatherland Front)." He describes the continuation of his trip along the lower reaches of the Mat River, depicting the local inhabitants he saw and commenting that "these proud mountain folk did not and do not yield to severe nature, and in their age-long struggle with the difficulties have revealed the paths for a harmonious life together with the mountains. A harmony, which today gives them an opportunity to be useful to their socialist homeland."

POLITICS

BULGARIA

DAILY COMMENTS ON TURKISH, CYPRIOT AFFAIRS

AU311901 [Editorial report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 29 January 1986 carries three articles on Turkish affairs: on page 6, a 700-word article by Petur Prostranov entitled "Formula for Democratization;" also on page 6, a 700-word report of an undated interview given in Sofia by Turkish Cypriot Trade Union leaders to Rumen Kovachev, and entitled "Peace and Unity--This is Our Goal;" and on page 7, an approximately 800-word article by Dlachko Balbanov on the Armenian genocide entitled "The Truth About the Extermination."

Prostranov's article opens with the comment: "The return of Turkey to democracy has become a pressing necessity. This is the general conclusion of the political observers in Ankara in connection with the proposal of the True Path Party (TPP), which has given rise to many lively discussions, and without doubt for a long time it will remain in the center of Turkey's internal political life." Prostranov outlines the TPP's 30part formula for the restoration of democracy, noting the demand by TPP leader Dzhin Doruk [name as transliterated] for a new constitution: "Now Turkey is a military public, and no return to normal civic life is possible with the present constitution."

Prostranov reports that the TPP's proposals produced a response from the Democratic Left Party (DLP), whose leaders, after talks with the TPP, agreed on a joint campaign, on the agreed conditions that "the new constitution must not restrict political life either on the left or on the right, and that only military coups and all activities which hinder the expression of the people's will be banned."

According to Prostranov, the TPP's formula also produced a different reaction from the Social-Democratic Populist Party, [name as published] [SDPP], the leader of which, Gyurkan [name as transliterated], while praising the above initiative, "expressed doubt that a right-centrist and a social-democratic party could agree on a joint formula for democratization. Prostranov adds that the SDPP has also appointed its own commission 'to record a list of antidemocratic formulations' in all government legislation and organizations' rules, on the basis of which the party plans to submit numerous bills to parliament.

Prostranov concludes by commenting that both the formula and the list have received wide support from journalists and politicians, and that since the three parties together enjoy wide popular support, "without doubt we will be witnesses of a stormy internal political life, and certainly only exceptional events can eliminate from it the issue of the democratization of Turkey."

Rumen Kovachev's report is of an interview with Bayram Celik, general secretary of the Revolutionary Federation of Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions, and with Yusuf Akama, member of the federation's managing council, who are part of a delegation invited to Sofia by the Bulgarian machine-building workers' trade union, on the subject of the situation in Cyprus, "which has long attracted the appetite of the imperialists, due to its strategic location." According to Kovachev, Celik characterized the situation thus: "With every passing day the impasse in Cyprus increases. This is the fact to which the leaders of both communities are closing their eyes." Celik, according to Kovachev, said that only the UN could succeed in bringing order to the island.

Kovachev then asked about the federation's role, to which Akama replies that their young organization "is struggling to improve the labor conditions of the Turkish Cypriots, which show a constant deterioration," as demonstrated by living standard indexes. Furthermore, Kovachev reports that Akama said that their organization, in the interests of the working class, "is making a stand against the ideological and economic penetration of imperialism, which not only has turned the island into a threat to peace in this part of the world, but also is continually fueling antagonism" between the two communities.

When asked about the aims of the struggle, Kovachev reports that Celik stated: that "our aims are clear--to bring together the interests of the two communities,... to disclose the instigating efforts of imperialism,... to struggle for friendship and cooperation between the two sections of the Cypriot people, and to continue the struggle for peace and cooperation with other countries."

According to Kovachev, Celik concluded by stressing the significance for the Cypriot situation of 1986 being declared International Peace Year by the UN, noting "the great contribution which Bulgaria is making to peace in the region and throughout the world," and stating that "the leadership of the Bulgarian trade unions gives us a brilliant example of workers' solidarity."

Dalcho Balabanov's article concerns the publication in Turkey of articles "giving a distorted picture of the events connected with the Armenian genocide," intended, "as CUMHURİYET stated on 5 December 1985, to refute the 'version' of the extermination of a people with thousands of years of history." Balabanov finds remarkable the attempts to ignore historical truth, to assert, according to the articles, that the "so-called Armenian question arose not as the result of general genocide, but under pressure

from the Great Powers--England, France, and Russia." Balabanov finds that "the Turkish bourgeois historiography" deliberately passes over in silence the fact that the Armenian question "arose not after the 1915 genocide, but much earlier." In support of this, Balabanov quotes Sultan Abdul Hamid's statement after the Berlin Congress that "in order to settle the issue, the Armenian people must be liquidated once and for all," and cites the well-known "directive" of the Turkish foreign minister Talyaat Pasha [name as transliterated], calling for extermination of the Armenians during World War I. Balabanov asserts that these "and many other documents preserved until our time completely refute the attempts of the contemporary Turkish falsifiers of history."

Balabanov continues by offering further historical evidence for his argument, such as Talyaat Pasha's telegrams concerning measures for Armenian genocide, which were sent during World War I to Naim Bey, secretary of the Aleppo Committee for Deportation of Armenians, and presented to the publicist Adam Andonian, who published them in Paris in 1920, together with other evidence of genocide. Balabanov mentions cases of Turkish officials refusing to carry out anonymous, extermination orders, such as that of the Aleppo governor Jamal Bey. However, Balabanov notes that there are certain discrepancies in the documentary evidence given in individual editions of Andonian's book, which "'provide grounds' for certain Turkish researchers deliberately to reject the authenticity of the facts set out in the book." Balabanov points out that Western scholars are nonetheless convinced of the authenticity of the documents.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

BCP LOCAL ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTION CONFERENCE HELD

AU031255 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 31 January, as well as on 1 and 2 February 1986 carries reports from local correspondents on accountability-election conferences on provincial party organizations and of Sofia district party organizations, attended and addressed by various BCP Politburo members, candidate members and Central Committee secretaries.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 31 January carries on page 2, a 200-word report from Sofia by Elena Dimitrova, reporting on the accountability-election conference of the Sofia Vasil Levski Rayon, held at the "Georgi Kirkov" hall of the Party House and attended by Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, and by Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee. Petur Mladenov "pointed out that the decisions of the historical April plenum of the BCP were of decisive importance for the unrelenting and ascending development of the country" and stated that Vasil Levski Rayon is an example for this progress. Dimitrova continues: "Dwelling on unresolved problems and on certain existing shortcomings, he expressed confidence that the efforts of the rayon party organization will be devoted to the solution of the crucial problem-- the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the worthy preparation of the 13th BCP Congress."

The same issue on the same page carries a 150-word report by Vanyo Stoilov on the Turgovishte Okrug party organization accountability-election conference, attended by Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Science, Culture, and Education at the Council of Ministers, as well as by Evtim Krustev, first secretary of the Okrug BCP Committee. Georgi Yordanov is reported as speaking on the importance of "scientific-technical upsurge and intellectual progress."

The same issue on the same page carries a 200-word report by Mikhayl Kulishev from Smolyan, describing the Okrug BCP Organization's accountability-election conference attended by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Union's Central Council, and by Atanas Atanasov, first secretary of the Smolyan Okrug BCP Committee. Petur Dyulgerov is reported as "evaluating the positive work of the communists in the Smolyan municipality in all sectors of

accelerated socioeconomic development and the successes achieved in the revival process which was adopted by the population."

The same daily on the same page carries a 120-word report by Stanislav Kolev from Kazunluk, reporting on the Okrug BCP Organization accountability-election meeting attended by Peko Takovgn deputy chairman of the State Council who spoke on local successes, and by Mincho Yovchev, first secretary of the BCP Okrug Committee.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 1 February carries on page 6 several reports on local party accountability-election conferences held on 31 January. A 150-word report by Dilyan Todorov deals with the Sofia "Kolarov" rayon accountability-election conference, politburo member and [word indistinct] civic committee, and by Georgi Georgievod of the Sofia City BCP Committee. Aleksandrov is reported as expressing satisfaction at the achievements of the Kolarov Rayon communists. A 100-word report from Lovech by Nedyalko Atanasov, deals with the Lovech Okrug BCP Organization's accountability-election conference, attended by Georgi Atanasov, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and by Petur Balevski, first secretary of the okrug BCP committee.

A 150-word report by Maksim Behar deals with the Shumen Okrug BCP organization accountability-election conference, attended by Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing commission, and by Georgi Nachev, first secretary of the Shumen okrug BCP Committee. A 150-word report by Nikolay Zhelev deals with the Tolbukhin Okrug BCP Organization accountability-election conference attended by Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who spoke on "ideological-educational" matters, and by Dimitir Dimitrov, first secretary of the Tolbukhin Okrug BPC Committee. A 100-word report by Maria Marcheva describes the Yambol Okrug BCP Organization's accountability-election conference, attended by Vasile Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and by Ivan Ovcharov, first secretary of the Uambol Okrug BCP committee. Vasil Tsanov is cited as stating that "lofty goals and criteria such as those pointed out by the 1985 February and the 1986 January plenums of the BCP Central Committee can be achieved only through revolutionary changes at the base, as well as in the superstructure."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 2 February carries on page 2, a 300-word report by Nikola Ganchovski, local correspondent from Kremikovtsi on the accountability-election conference of the Kremikovtsi rayon party organization, held on 1 February at the Sofia "Georgi Kirkov" hall. The conference was attended by Ognyan Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, chairman of the Economic Council at the Council of Ministers, and minister of machine building industry, and by Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee. Doynov is reported as speaking on local successes of Kremikovtsi and on "certain shortcomings," without further specifying them.

All accountability-election meetings described in the aforementioned reports deal with local working people's achievements. No significant shortcomings are pointed out in the speeches of the aforementioned leaders attending the conferences.

No changes in personnel or leadership of the local party organizations are mentioned.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

CASES OF ALCOHOL ADDICTION DESCRIBED

AU031513 [Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 1 February, on page 2 carries a 1,400-word article by Nikolay Gavrilov, entitled "Visa to Nowhere...." It is published under the rubric "February--the Month of Temperance," which also contains a 600-word article by Tsanka Konstaninova, deputy chairman of the National Committee on Temperance, entitled "With Optimism Toward the Great Goal," dealing in general terms with the importance of temperance.

Gavrilov's article describes his visit to the Sukhindol Fourth Psychiatric Clinic for Drug and Alcohol Addicts, and his conversations with Docent Filip Lazarov, one of the doctors of the clinic, and two unnamed patients, both alcoholics.

Gavrilov reports Lazarov as having told him, among other things, that "some 150 persons, 25 of whom are female, are being treated at the clinic," that he "is concerned with the increased percentage of young people" among his patients, and that "there is only a small percentage of drug addicts in the clinic."

"The problem of alcoholism has recently become ever more alarming," Lazarov is reported as saying. "People are drinking too much because of daily social and psychological conventions, and the 'game' with the glass has become a painful style of human life in which man loses his functions--psychological, physical, and social functions."

Gavrilov describes his conversation with an unnamed patient, a television technician, who, he says "has been abusing alcohol for the past 20 years" and "had spent several years in an Arab country," so that money was not a problem for him. The result, Gavrilov notes, is that the patient was drinking three bottles of hard liquor a day.

Describing his conversation with the second patient, a medical assistant, Gavrilov notes that the patient began to drink at high school "and afterward in the army." "Before coming to the Sukhindol clinic he had been treated in a similar institution in Radnevo."

After describing the poor physical condition of these patients and giving a pessimistic prognosis for them, Gavrilov concludes:

"People with lost hopes and old remorse, and faces marked by the most cruel sculpter, alcohol, remained there in the forest. They have their visa to nowhere, which, unfortunately, can be issued to anyone and not just to a select few. Think about it!"

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

EFFORTS TO RESTORE ESSENTIAL RURAL SERVICES

AU061432 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 5 February 1986 carries on page 8 under the rubric "Days and Nights Against the Snowstorms" a collection of reports, all dated 4 February, from okrugs on the intense efforts to restore essential rural services. These comprise a 450-word article by RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Mariya Marcheva from Yambol, a 400-word report by the daily's correspondent Vanyo Stoilov from Turgovishte, and two shorter unattributed reports from the newspaper's Khaskovo and Stara Zagora correspondents.

The Yambol report, entitled "A Brave Struggle," begins as follows: "On the third day there is no pause in the intense work under the leadership of the okrug staff to restore the normal rhythm of life in the okrug, disrupted by the snowstorm." Marcheva notes that all main road routes have been reopened to traffic, but local routes still have to be cleared. She continues: "The road transportation combine has managed to transport milk from all farms in the okrug, and in the morning people in most villages will receive fresh milk and yogurt."

Marcheva then notes that "now the main task remaining for the emergency teams from the electricity supply organization... is to restore the medium- and low-voltage lines and to supply more than 80 villages with electric power." In the town of Yambol intense snowclearing operations continue. Marcheva reports that "hundreds of kilometers of roads have been cleared, tens of kilometers widened to normal capacity--this is the result of the collective's work of the previous day. In the okrug road administration's control room information is updated literally every hour."

Vanyo Stoilov reports from the control room of the electricity services division in Turgovishte on the selfless labor of electrical fitters who "walk along the 1.5 kilometer line meter by meter amid the fields in order to locate the fault." He quotes the division's director as saying: "We immediately formed 12 emergency teams, who by the evening of Tuesday 4 February restored power everywhere." Stoilov then gives a report from the Turgovoshte okrug road administration that "the basic road network is passable under winter conditions, but certain sections have still to be widened and sanded." Petur Karageorgiev, deputy chairman of the Turgovishte Okrug People's Council informed Stoilov that "Tomorrow will already be a normal working day."

The unattributed report from Khaskovo states that the snowfall "as well as bringing long-awaited life-giving water, has also caused some difficulties to the people. The snowfall and wind caused four main electricity power lines to be cut and 103 others to be damaged.

Over 100 villages were left without electric power." However, "as a result of the timely measures adopted, the faults are gradually being eliminated in the electricity supply and in the clearing of the main and secondary roads." The Stara Zagora report states that "the heavy snowfall has seriously hampered the normal rhythm of life in the okrug, and put both people and equipment to the test." However, thanks to round-the-clock efforts "the rhythm of life in the okrug is gradually returning to normal."

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

ARMY DAILY VIEWS 'TEAM SPIRIT--'86' MANEUVERS

AU121951 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Feb 86 p 6

[Senior Lieutenant Ivan Genov article under the 'Weekly International Review' rubric: "Talks and Maneuvers--Two Incompatible Concepts"]

[Text] On the eve of the joint U.S.-South Korean maneuvers "Team Spirit --'86" the reluctance of official Washington, and especially the Pentagon, to depart from the wellworn track of threat of force in the regional conflicts which they themselves have fomented is evident with particular clarity. The maneuvers are due to commence on 10 February. A vast 200,000-strong army with 1,000 aircraft and other fighting equipment is assembling to take part in the maneuvers south of the 38th parallel. Last year's "Team Spirit--'85" maneuvers are remembered as the longest military exercises carried out since World War II. Their organizers gave it the names of a "preventive strike," "initial war" [vstupitelna voyna], and "experimental nuclear war." It is difficult to say what label will be attached to this year's version, but one thing is clear--its sharp end will once again be aimed northward, at the DPRK.

Everyone knows of the DPRK's decision of 1 February 1986 not to organize large-scale maneuvers and to cease all kinds of large military exercises during the negotiations between the North and the South, a decision intended to assist the peaceful unification of the artificially divided Korean peninsula.

One could hardly expect a positive reaction on the part of Washington. In the Pentagon's plans, South Korea figures as a convenient launching platform for aggression not only against the DPRK, and Seoul also plays the role of an inciter of tension in this region of the world. On 18 January the United States confirmed its decision to take part in the "Team Spirit--86" maneuvers, thus sabotaging the negotiations between the North and South.

On the DPRK's side it was correctly pointed out that to sit down at the negotiating table and at the same time to foment war hysteria is in contradiction of elementary logic. It was therefore stressed that the DPRK is compelled to continue the talks only after the large-scale maneuvers of the United States and South Korea have been completed.

The political anachronism of supporting the existence of "two Koreas" has irretrievably outlived its time, and the United States will hardly manage to rejuvenate the concept with such militaristic preventive measures as the "Team Spirit--86" maneuvers. The effect will rather be the reverse-- a powerful wave of protest in the South and increased revolutionary vigilance in the North.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

POWER ENGINEERING MINISTER ON POWER SUPPLY

AU101357 Sofia BTA in English 1048 GMT 10 Feb 86

[Text] Sofia, 10 Feb (BTA)--In a number of indices in the field of power engineering Bulgaria ranks among the most advanced industrial countries in the world, Mr. Nikola Todoriev, minister of power engineering said. In an article published today in RABOTNICHESKO DELO he notes that the consumption of electric power per capita of the population is more than 2.5 times higher than the world's average. The minister stressed the following fact: The structure of power generation contains the characteristic features of the most progressive tendencies in this field which find expression in the great relative share of the nuclear capacities in power generation and in the great amount of electricity generated from low calory fuel.

Mr Nikola Todoriev pointed out that today the nuclear capacities generate about 1/3 of the electric power in Bulgaria. There are four 440 megawatt reactors at the Kozloduy nuclear power station. Yet another two reactors, 1,000 megawatt each, are now under construction at accelerated rates at the same power station. The construction of a second nuclear-power station has started near the town of Belene (on the Danube). The minister of power engineering stressed that Bulgaria is the second country in the socialist community after the Soviet Union in which 1,000 megawatt nuclear reactors are under construction. Bulgaria's experience as regards the terms of the setting on stream of the nuclear capacities and as regares the terms of their mastering places here among the most advanced countries in the world. The minister cites an interesting fact: If the average coefficient of the utilization of the nuclear reactors in the world is 62 at the Kozlodui nuclear power station it is 80 percent.

Mr Nikola Todoriev writes that it has been provided for the development of a new trend in nuclear power generation--central heating on the basis of nuclear sources.

The minister said that 30 years ago the most powerful energy blocks were 25 megawatts. Now the power engineering system in this country includes six energy blocks, 150 megawatts each and 15 energy blocks, 210 megawatts each. The "Varna" thermo-electric power station has a capacity of 1,260 megawatts and the "Maritsa Iztok" complex generates 20 percent of the

electric power in Bulgaria. At "Maritsa-Izstok" there have been introduced efficient technologies for the direct burning of low-calorie coal in thermo-electric power stations.

Bulgaria's minister of power engineering dwells on the mining of coal in this country. Eighty percent of the coal in this country is mined in open cast mines. In the following few years 87 percent of the coal will be mined according to this method. At the same time the necessary attention is being paid to the mining of brown and other types of coal. These types of coal are mined underground.

Mr Nikola Todoriev also dwelled on some unresolved problems in the field of power engineering. Bulgaria is still lagging behind in a trend as important as the rational use of fuels and energy and the raising of the energy efficiency of the economy. The consumption of fuels and energy per unit of production in this country is still high.

By way of conclusion the Bulgarian minister of power engineering comments on last year's difficulties in power supply. He stressed that the state is providing the necessary resources with which to compensate the lack of water resources for achieving the energy balance and that the disturbances will be gradually overcome.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES KUWAITI AMBASSADOR--Sofia, 13 Feb (BTA)--Today State Council President Todor Zhivkov received the newly appointed Ambassador of Kuwait to Bulgaria Mr Talib Jalal ad-Din al-Nakib, who presented his credentials to him. Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed the readiness and the wish of Bulgaria to promote and consolidate the friendly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries in different spheres. He said that Bulgaria will continue to render support to the Arab peoples for a just and lasting resolution of the Middle East conflict. On his part the ambassador of Kuwait stressed Bulgaria's great merits and its friendly attitude to the just cause of the Arab peoples in particular. In Kuwait we appreciate and respect these activities, he said. The ambassador of Kuwait expressed the wish of his country to cement its friendly relations with Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 13 Feb 86 AU] /9738

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LEGISLATION COMMISSION--A meeting of the Legislation Commission was convened at the National Assembly. Under the leadership of Yaroslav Radev, the commission's chairman, the National Assembly deputies discussed the work of the commission during the past 1981-85 period. The meeting was attended by Comrade Stanko Todorov. It was pointed out that the Legislation Commission's activities are developing in three main directions: supporting the legislative activities of the National Assembly; exercising control upon the efficiency in implementing laws; and cooperation with the work of the organs for law and order. Within a period of less than 5 years, 51 draft laws were reviewed and 14 checks were carried in connection with the application of laws with great social importance. The considerable role of the Legislation Commission in connection with adopting several laws--were made--was pointed out. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 14 Feb 86 AU] /9738

CSO: 2200/69

6 March 1986

POLITICS

HUNGARY

LEGITIMACY OF REGIME PROBED, CALLED FOR

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 12, Dec 1985, pp 83-88

[Article by Josef Bayer, Candidate and Senior Member of the MSZMP CC Social Sciences Institute: "Legitimacy and Consensus"]

[Text] Legitimacy is a norm of political philosophy which expresses recognition, validity and legality of any political power. Legitimation is the process of the creation of legitimacy, it is a way to the recognition of a political regime. Both terms bear the stigma of professional phraseology; recently their fashionable colloquial use, aside from making an affected impression, also blurs their specific meaning. (We now try to legitimate many things that we had thus far motivated, explained, justified, etc.)

In the vocabulary of classic Marxism--from which emphasis on the ideological dimension of class-rule is never missing--none of these terms have ever played a role. In their current interpretation they acquired popularity only as a result of Max Weber's teaching, and they reached us primarily in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of Western political science discussions about the "legitimacy crisis" of capitalism. Meanwhile the various standpoints blended into theories and recently they have also been used for the analysis of the political system of socialist countries.

The question arises: do the legitimacy theories provide us with such an original theoretical and methodological viewpoint that may enrich our knowledge about the functions of a political system? According to the Marxist political scientist G. Therborn, this is only in part true since although these theories are pointing to important problems, however, they pose questions with a false framework. They are neither empirical nor analytical conceptions, but normative, i.e. the system should be legitimate and the way it should be so, this is their main problem, rather than the analysis of the real functions of political power. Although they place emphasis on the role of ideology in the functioning and maintenance of political power, they are often interpreting the concrete functions of ideology in a lopsided and idealist manner.

Among Marxists it is generally accepted that no class rule can prevail in the long run without ideological support. For it is possible to rule for a short time by using brute force (for example over slaves), yet the specific practice and internal structure of a ruling class eventually requires ideological justification. According to Max Weber, in the first place it is just the latter, the relationship between the ruling person or group and their "staff" which is the decisive factor in the definition of the various types of legitimacy. Thus from the definition of legitimacy the problem of class-rule disappears and the "pure" political power, that is detached from the remaking of class relations, tends to become the objective of ideological justification.

Power it is known, is a two-sided reflective relationship. A king is only made a king but his relationship to his subordinates. Thus no regime can function without a certain degree of recognition by its subjects, by their obedience and "consensus." This may be motivated by a variety of things, the scale of which extends from forcible submission to the brute physical force to resignation resulting from the feeling of helplessness, which leads through the momentum of habit to voluntary followership and even to enthusiastic and active support. Thence legitimate is considered to be a regime that is not based on brute force alone, instead its subjects voluntarily and inwardly accept it and on some kind of general ideological basis recognize it as justified and lawful, and therefore they follow its command willingly with an obedience rooted in their own interests. Thus legitimacy is often and rightly considered a condition of lasting and stable power.

With bayonets much can be done, only it is impossible to sit on them. This much cited vitriolic saying by Talleyrand is a warning for every "new prince" who has to create his own legitimacy if he wants to establish a lasting rule.

Thus in this abstract sense legitimacy was born at the same time as political rule, even if it has taken various forms during changing eras. Obviously it becomes a problem in people's consciousness at the time of great changes in power relations and principally during the chaotic periods of system changes. The concept has been used since times immemorial, not only in its stricter family law interpretation (the legitimate or lawful child as the rightful heir), but also in a wider political sense arising from this, as the principle of dynastic legitimacy versus tyranny and usurpation of the throne.

Real history or political science nevertheless starts with the Restoration Period that followed the great French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The power of the Holy Alliance set the feudal principle of dynastic, historic legitimacy against the concept of people's sovereignty, from which the legitimacy of bourgeois constitutions was derived. The "legitimists," believers in the

reign by grace of God and exercised on the basis of "historic rights," have almost expropriated this concept. Therefore the bourgeoisie, in struggle for its ascendance, preferred the use of the concept of legality, when it wanted to emphasize its justification of its rule. Legality became a synonym of "rational" rule, that has been established by laws made by the people's representatives. As a result of the eclipse of this historic contradiction, it was later nonetheless legitimacy which gained more general acceptance, particularly in the wake of Max Weber's teaching, who gave a more general interpretation to this concept. However legality, the safeguarding of formal lawfulness has remained until now one of the most important mainstays and conditions of legitimate rule.

According to Max Weber the state is a condition of dominance, based on the use of legitimate (lawful) force, and it cannot subsist without the acceptance of its authority. Why do people obey? Of course to some extent under external compelling causes which provoke fear and nurture hope, as well as because of their own various interests. Moreover also on the basis of internal processes of justification and faith in the lawfulness of their submission. Every regime tries to create and nurture this kind of faith.

The three models of legitimate rule are: the traditional, the legal and the charismatic rule. The traditional rule relies on the authority of the "eternal past," on the conventional faith in "the sanctity of traditions, which have been valid since time immemorial and in the legitimacy of people whose authority is rooted in them." The basis of legal rule is rationality, "the faith in lawful order and in the right of command of those people who have been put in charge by it of exercising its rule." The justifications of charismatic rule are the extraordinary abilities of a person, his (her) holiness, heroism and devotion to his (her) vocation. The first model essentially corresponds to the personal and the second to the material pattern of dependence relations (in the Marxist terminology), while the third points at the irrational, personal and confidential relationship with the leader, that may be the peculiarity of exceptional historic conditions. All three have different types of "following," ruling body: the first has patrimonial aristocracy (feudal type of body), the second bureaucracy and the third "experiment."

This concept is still considered fundamental in political science literature, although it has also been widely criticized. The ideal types of Max Weber revolve around the philosophy of history. The differences between traditional and legal rule reflect basically the differences between pre-capitalist and capitalist systems (the prospect of a new system does not yet appear in Weber's work; he views socialism merely as a new degree of progressive rationalism). On the other hand the often discussed and misinterpreted model of charismatic rule is a phenomenon on transitional, eventful and critical periods of time.

However within this generality none of them is suitable to describe any concrete political system. Thus its critics have often introduced other, more concrete principles of legitimation, which seem to be more useful. The concepts of people's sovereignty and constitutional state are today indispensable elements of the legitimacy of any political system; they are usually complemented by the procedural rules of democracy (elections, the principle of majority rule, etc.), by the idea of nationality and a series of other positive political values. Recently the non-formal, material principles have acquired major emphasis. Thus the state and government system of modern "welfare capitalism" is primarily justified by its effective compliance with its welfare functions, other principles of legitimation functioning only as subordinate elements. In a more vulgarized form this has been defined in the term of "legitimation by means of consumption," whereby we have by and large left the sublime level of normative justification. The material interests, which have so far been washed out from the ideology, now break nonetheless, in a sobering way, into the ideology and promptly acquire a domineering role. Max Weber would have certainly not listed them among the factors of legitimacy, but would have counted them as other motives of obedience.

In the 1960s and 1970s, mainly in the tumults of the student movements, polemics started among leftist theoreticians on the legitimacy crisis of the capitalist state. (These polemics were interesting and from many other viewpoints also instructive, yet their hypotheses concerning a legitimacy crisis have not been vindicated by time; they rather reflected their authors' ideological reorientation. Of course the accusation of their rightist adversaries that precisely the leftist crisis theoreticians were those who provoked a sort of legitimacy crisis, has not been justified either). In the course of the discussions the normative character of legitimacy acquired new momentum to the detriment of the psychological motives behind the acceptance of a rule. J. Habermas criticized the hidden positivism of Weber's conception, i.e. the identification of faith in legitimacy with legitimacy itself. The empirical recognition of a regime is in his opinion not equivalent to its legitimacy.

Legitimacy means that a political order is worthy to be recognized by its subjects. This requires such deeper motives for the acceptance of a regime which express historic justice. However such justifying principles would nowadays challenge the latent class structure of the capitalist system and its social inequalities, and this is in part the root of the legitimacy crisis. Another cause is the gradual disintegration of the traditional social norms, or in other words the preference granted to "system integration," which rests entirely on efficiency principles, to the detriment of "social integration;" all these running parallel with the growing expectations from the intervening welfare state. Nevertheless there is no danger of a general crisis in the system, since the crises perceptible in some areas of society do not add up, it has thus far been possible to isolate them from each other.

Taking issue with the normative dimension, other people rather emphasize the legitimating role of the procedures, which are attached to the institutions. Their point of reference is that people are simply not in a situation to question the norms enshrined in the institutional procedures which determine to a great extent and restrict their behavior.

There is no lack of theoretical interpretations in the legitimacy literature. Moreover there are also empirical research projects under way, which try to assess the acceptance of certain political values and to ascertain the degree of consensus reached in them. The question is, can these findings be interpreted as evidence of legitimacy, since the possibility that they are unreliable comes usually to light unexpectedly and "post festum," and cannot be grappled by means of questionnaires. Legitimacy itself is a qualitative category and therefore it can hardly be measured. With empirical methods only certain political attitudes can be tested, of which we presume that they have something to do with the stability or instability of the political system and are playing a role in the acceptance or questioning of that system. However, a political system may be stable without being legitimate, since obedience may be and in fact is motivated also by other things, and the reverse is also true. Moreover it is also questionable whether legitimacy stands in relation to the fundamentals of a social system or only to the ways in which power is being used.

If there are so many questions concerning legitimacy, what is the point in raising the problem? Well, there are certain viewpoints from which its posing seems to be rational and instructive. One of them is the change in the justification structure of a political system, which brings with itself a radical system change. Thus revolutions usually do not topple legitimate orders but only such ones whose legitimacy has already been undermined and disintegrated. Revolutions--in contrast with usurpations of power and coups d'Etat--carry in themselves the principle of their legitimacy, that the revolutionary power unfolds and brings to fruition in its entire institutional system and ideology. It is interesting to note that Gyorgy Lukacs, in an article entitled "Legality and Illegality" that he wrote in 1920, and which was published in *TORTENELEM ES OSZTALYONTUDAT* in 1923, raises categorically and as a decisive question the problem of the creation of legitimacy by revolutionary powers.

For the process of legitimation runs through a twofold channel: aside from the recognition and support from below--which is difficult to scientifically ascertain, yet politically is all the more perceptible--its "production" and creation from above is also feasible. In the stage of the building of a new legitimacy the latter is certainly the decisive and active factor. The shaping of the entire spiritual physionomy of the new order may be conceived as the process of legitimation. This encompasses the entire pattern of socialization--from the traditional educational institutions to the activities of the new political organizations in that area--as well as the entire organization of mass communication, arts and sciences, including the

ideology of the political elite itself. Those Western politicians who undertook an in-depth analysis of the political system of the Soviet Union from this specific point of view--regardless of their political value judgment--reached the conclusion that the new Soviet system had created and gained its own legitimacy.

The evolution of "consensus" from below, even if it is not of secondary importance in this process, it is in its accommodation with the prevailing combination of "compulsion and persuasion" not autonomous. It can only later become autonomous and a spontaneous and organic reproduction of legitimacy from below can only then unfold. This process is far from being harmonious and exempt from contradictions; it is often beset with crises, above all in case the new regime has an underdeveloped class basis, which also determines the rigidity of the political structures. The making of a "natural" renewal mechanism of consensus is in final analysis--among other factors--an indispensable condition of lasting legitimacy. Its adequate structures can only be worked out through reforms and a series of corrections and cannot be provided a priori.

Legitimacy is often built upon such a consensus theory that is based on unrealistic premises. Consensus has notably various, but a least two fundamental meanings, the difference of which is translated in the English language by the terms consent and consensus. The first means acquiescence in and concurrence to something, the other agreement with something. legitimacy is often defined as an agreement between the values accepted by the population and those of the ruling elite. Aside from the fact that in this interpretation the two meanings of consensus are intermingled, the question arises: How can this agreement be reached? According to the prevailing hypothesis the "bourgeois society" grants its consensus and mandate to such a regime--and only to such one--with whose principles of functioning it agrees. This is the ideal model of democratic legitimacy which is being built from below and that nowadays no regime can disregard. Regimes are going their best to obtain at least the appearance of it. Political science begins however where the real political process is not being confused with its justification....

This does not mean that consensus has no important role in legitimation. The matter however is that consensus itself is as fragmented as the entire political structure, that the entire political system cooperates in its recreation, and the mechanism of its development depends on the entire system of interest transmission. In Gramsci's Marxist political theory this is for example reflected in his treating the "bourgeois society" as part of the superstructure. On the other hand Althusser and his followers are speaking about "ideological state apparatus" when analyzing the mechanism of "consensus" making.

If consensus is fragmented, it is obvious that the individual groups have no identical clout from the point of view of legitimation. On the other hand it is an even more important fact that consensus

coexists with dissent, the trend and character of which is indeed the crucial question of legitimacy. According to the already cited author, G. Therborn, it is not so much mass discontent, let alone illegal activities or the spread of protest movements which by themselves threaten legitimacy. The crucial test is the appearance of organized challenge to legitimacy and--in case of trial--its impact on the loyalty of the ruling apparatus and its ability to function. Such a challenge differs conclusively from sheer dissent, protest and break of law, it amounts to an alternative and enshrines the promise of a new law.

Such a challenge may be presented by non-governmental revolutionary (or even counter-revolutionary) organizations, or by some fractions of the ruling apparatus, which thereby disorganize the legitimacy of the regime. This concept contradicts the static ideas of the loss of legitimacy. Diffuse and disorganized discontent, skepticism and cynicism alone do not provoke legitimacy crisis, notes Therborn, who supports his assumption with historic examples. All this does not amount, in his opinion, to a negation of the role of the masses, only it provides a more realistic picture about the real functioning of political power. As he observes, dictatorships do not fall because they are unpopular, but as a result of a change in the balance of forces. An important element of this is the internal disintegration process of the ruling elite, as a consequence of which the popular forces can thrust into the political scene and can play their historic role.

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As we see, the analysis of the legitimacy problem sheds light on interesting aspects of the role of ideology. We should also exactly specify what we are speaking about; is our topic the legitimacy of the social system, the political structure or only that of the government? These various levels are often interchanged and this is particularly risky in cases where the monolithical unity of a political system dominates. In such cases a possible destabilization caused by the mistakes of the government's policy might at once appear as the legitimacy crisis of the entire political and even social system. And it may turn into a crisis, if an ideological erosion starts also within the ruling apparatus, since there is no possibility of solving the arising conflicts by internal moves, or establishing the new ideological and action unity required for the corrections. The history of the internal crises of the East European socialist countries may be enlightening from this point of view. The internal crisis of the party and the paralysis in its capacity of action have always been crucial factors of the deepening of these crises.

Conversely Western political scientists constantly wonder how it is possible that the socialist system, after an apparently deep and in all its symptoms real "legitimacy crisis," consolidates itself quickly

and relatively easily, and that the socialist regimes, which are presented by Western propaganda as unstable, appear to be stable in reality. The explanation of this rests of course in the specifics of the entire social system, its conditions of production and in the institutional and intellectual fabric of its superstructure.

All this, together with the desire for renewal of the leading party and the reform capacity of society points to the fact that our system has large "legitimacy reserves." Of course the norm of legitimacy may be approached from various angles and it will always be a topic of political argument. Nobody should expect from Otto Habsburg that he consider our regime as legitimate, but also our more immediate adversaries may question the legitimacy of our system; it suffices that they respect its legality.

Legitimacy is always relative, the principles of legitimacy can of course only comply with their function within some kind of comparative pattern, the test being either the past or the challenge of a present competitor. The time factor plays certainly a great role in the stabilization of legitimacy. The various periods of the political takeover of socialism show changing justification structures. The current economic and political challenges to our system are provoking new tensions, the productive and forward pointing solution of which requires also ideological renewal and must create at the same time a new type of legitimation. The exploitation of the mentioned "legitimacy reserves" is therefore important, although it is hardly a scientific or ideological task alone. It can only be the result of joined social and political efforts.

12312/12223

CSO: 2500/162

POLITICS

POLAND

CHANGES IN ORGANIZATION, JURISDICTION OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish 12 Nov 85 pp 665-667

[Text] Law 262 dated 12 November 1985 on changes in organization and jurisdiction of certain chief and central organs of state administration]

In order to:

--create better conditions for the functioning of chief and central organs of state administration and improve their organization,

--further apply economic reform,

--comprehensively solve important social problems,

--decentralize the state administration and manage the national economy

and in accordance with proposals submitted at meetings prior to elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, it is proclaimed as follows:

Article 1. 1. An office of Minister of Construction, Land-Use and Municipal Management is established.

2. The jurisdiction of the Minister of Construction, Land-Use and Municipal Management encompasses matters formerly under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Construction and Construction Materials Industry and the Minister of Administration and Land-Use Management, except as provided in Article 7 paragraph 2 and Article 8 paragraph 1 and 3, and particularly matters relating to:

- 1) town and regional land-use management plans,
- 2) land management,
- 3) construction,
- 4) housing construction and repair of buildings and houses,
- 5) town planning, architecture and building supervision,
- 6) construction materials industry,

7) production of specialized machinery and equipment for construction and the construction materials industry,

8) municipal management and its repair facilities and the municipal equipment industry,

9) geodesy and cartography.

3. The Minister of Construction, Land-Use and Municipal Management executes tasks relating to geodesy and cartography through the Main Office for Geodesy and Cartography.

Article 2. 1. An office of Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy is established.

2. The Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy has jurisdiction over matters formerly under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy and the Minister of Forestry and Timber Industry, except as provided in Article 3, paragraph 3 and Article 8 paragraph 2, and particularly matters relating to:

1) agriculture, seed and breeding production,

2) plant and animal protection,

3) farmland management and protection,

4) forestry management and protection of forests,

5) agri-food processing,

6) processing of timber and other forestry products,

7) procurement of farm and forestry products,

8) land reclamation and installation of water pipelines to agriculture and the countryside,

9) mechanization of agriculture and production of specialized machinery and equipment for agriculture, forestry and the food industry,

10) geodesic services for agriculture and forestry,

11) hunting.

Article 3. 1. An office of Minister of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources is established.

2. The Minister of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources has jurisdiction over matters formerly under the jurisdiction of the Office of Environmental Protection and Water Management and the Central Office of Geology, and particularly matters relating to:

- 1) protection and shaping of the environment,
- 2) water management and flood prevention,
- 3) protection of natural resources,
- 4) inland waterways,
- 5) meteorology and hydrology,
- 6) geology.

3. In addition, the Minister of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources has jurisdiction over matters of natural environment formerly under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Forestry and Timber Industry.

4. The Minister of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources executes tasks of the chief organ of state administration relating to geology with the assistance of the Chief Geologist.

Article 4. 1. An office of Minister of Materials and Fuels Management is established.

2. The Minister of Materials and Fuels Management has jurisdiction over matters formerly under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Materials Management and the Main Inspectorate for Energy Management, and particularly matters relating to:

- 1) management of raw and other materials, fuels and energy, and their stocks,
- 2) control over observance of principles of efficient management of raw and other materials, fuels and energy,
- 3) use of fixed assets in the national economy,
- 4) state reserves,
- 5) warehouse management,
- 6) management of packaging, secondary raw materials, and defective materials.

3. The Minister of Materials and Fuels Management executes the tasks of the chief organ of state administration relating to control of the fuels-energy economy with the assistance of the Main Inspectorate for Energy Management.

Article 5. Matters formerly under the jurisdiction of the Minister for Price Affairs now pass to the jurisdiction of the Minister of Finances.

Article 6. 1. A Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism is established.

2. The Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism has jurisdiction over matters formerly under the jurisdiction of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, and particularly in relation to popularizing, organizing and supporting the development of:

- 1) physical culture and sports,
- 2) tourism and rest,
- 3) physical culture, sports, tourism and rest facilities.

3. The chairman of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism is the central organ of state administration for matters relating to physical culture, sports, tourism and rest. The chairman, appointed, dismissed and supervised by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, directs the activities of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism.

4. The Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism is also comprised of the deputy chairman and members of the Committee, appointed and dismissed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers at the proposal of the Committee chairman.

Article 7. 1. The office of the Council of Ministers is called upon to:

- 1) define the principles of the organization and functioning of state-administration offices,
- 2) coordinate the implementation of personnel policies in the state administration.
- 3) conduct personnel matters on persons occupying leadership positions in the state administration,
- 4) organize the government's legislative activities,
- 5) control the execution of tasks assigned by the Council of Ministers and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers,
- 6) coordinate the control activities of the chief and central organs of state administration.
- 7) establish the rules for managing government real estate at the disposal of the state administration organs,
- 8) provide organizational, legal and office services for the work of the government.

2. The following matters, formerly under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Administration and Land-Use Management, now pass to the jurisdiction of the Office of the Council of Ministers:

- 1) supervision over the current activities of the local organs of state administration, in accordance with provisions of the law on a system of people's councils and territorial self-government,
- 2) coordination and control of activities of local organs of state administration and their organization and functioning,
- 3) the making of comprehensive analyses and evaluations of the activities of local organs of state administration and the results of these activities,
- 4) execution, with the cooperation of pertinent organs and organizations, of comprehensive control over provinces.

3. The Office of the Council of Ministers is directed by the Minister-Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers, appointed and dismissed in accordance with the provisions of Article 37 paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

4. The Minister-Chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers executes tasks envisaged in the law on a system of people's councils and territorial self-government for the minister pertinent to administrative matters.

5. The detailed scope of activity of the Minister-Chief of the Office of Council of Ministers and the procedures for conducting inspections are defined by the Council of Ministers by way of an ordinance.

6. The organization of the Office of the Council of Ministers is established by statute conferred by the Council of Ministers.

Article 8. 1. Matters of local transportation, roads and transport, formerly under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Administration and Land-Use Management, now pass to the jurisdiction of the Minister of Transportation.

2. Matters of secondary and specialized processing of timber raw materials, formerly under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Forestry and Timber Industry, now pass to the jurisdiction of the Minister of Chemical and Light Industry.

3. Supervision over the functioning of sobering-up places is assigned to the Minister of Health and Social Welfare.

Article 9. 1. The following are eliminated:

- 1) the office of the Minister of Construction and Construction Materials Industry,
- 2) the office of the Minister of Administration and Land-Use Management,

- 3) the office of the Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy,
- 4) the office of the Minister of Forestry and Timber Industry,
- 5) the office of the Minister of Materials Management,
- 6) the Office of the Minister for Price Affairs.

2. The following are eliminated:

- 1) the Office of Environmental Protection and Water Management,
- 2) the Central Office of Geology,
- 3) the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports,
- 4) the Main Committee for Tourism.

3. The Price Administration and the District Price Administrations are eliminated. Tasks formerly under the jurisdiction of the District Price Administrations now pass to the jurisdiction of the treasury offices.

4. The central organ of state administration and the office of the Main Inspectorate of Energy Management are eliminated.

Article 10. 1. The Council of Ministers, by way of an ordinance, will define the detailed jurisdiction of the ministers referred to in Article 1-4, the Minister of Finances on price matters, and the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism.

2. The organization of the executive apparatus of the organs mentioned in paragraph 1, the organizational units subordinate to or supervised by these organs and the state enterprises for whom they perform the function of a parent body, are defined in a statute conferred by the Council of Ministers.

3. The Council of Ministers will determine the procedures and dates by which the newly appointed offices of ministers, Minister of Finances, and the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism, will assume jurisdiction.

Article 11. 1. The Council of Ministers, in order to ensure uniform implementation of legitimately singled-out tasks of special social or economic importance, may establish a position of secretary of state in the office of the Planning Commission, ministry, or other office directed by a minister.

2. The Council of Ministers may also specify central organs of state administration whose directors are appointed in the rank of secretary of state.

3. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers appoints and dismisses secretaries of state.

Article 12. 1. The Council of Ministers may, in the structure of the office of chief organ of state administration, establish a government representative for tasks of special social or economic importance.

2. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers appoints and dismisses government representatives.

Article 13. In the law dated 31 July 1981 on salaries for persons occupying leadership state positions (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, item 101; 1982, No 31, item 214; and 1985, No 22, item 98) in Article 2 pt 3 the words "chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers" are deleted and the words "deputies to the Chairman of the Planning Commission in the Council of Ministers" are replaced by the words "first deputy to the Chairman of the Planning Commission in the Council of Ministers, deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in the Council of Ministers, secretary of state, first vice president of the Polish National Bank.

Article 14. 1. Within the scope of the law, former provisions pertaining to the establishing of chief and central organs of state administration are no longer valid.

2. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, by way of an ordinance issued by 31 December 1985, will define in detail the jurisdictions reserved in the provisions specific to the jurisdictions of the organs eliminated by this law, which are now assigned respectively to the jurisdictions of the organs established on the basis of the law, and the organs referred to in Article 5, 7 and 8.

3. Jurisdictions not covered by the ordinance referred to in paragraph 2 will expire on the date of its publication.

Article 15. The law goes into effect on the date of publication.

Chairman of the Council of State: /s/ W. Jaruzelski
Secretary of the Council of State: /s/ Z. Surowiec

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CSO: 2600/191

POLITICS

POLAND

COURT RULES ON STATE FIRMS PAY LEVELS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Nov 85 p 4

[Report by (wl): "Social Arbitration Decisions Are Not Actionable"]

[Text] On 19 November the Supreme Court, by dismissing a special appeal, ended the well-known dispute (also described in RZECZPOSPOLITA on 12 November) about whether social arbitration can decide pay levels in a state enterprise.

In January of this year the Social Arbitration Council in the Labor and Social Security District Court in Opole ruled that the application of the trade union in the Opole Automobile Repair Factories for a wage increase was justified and awarded an increase of an average of 2,200 zlotys a month per employee. The decision was motivated mainly by the low level of pay in this enterprise, as compared with others, which was responsible for the fact that employees were constantly leaving. During 1982-1984, 220 employees left, and another 150 have left since 1 January 1985. The deteriorating cadre situation threatened to totally disorganize the work in the factories.

The Arbitration Council's decision also indicated ways to obtain funds for the increase: Fully mobilize the workforce, grant the enterprise the maximum correction index, and reach the point at which payments no longer have to be made to the PFAZ (State Vocational Activization Fund).

The Minister of Justice stated that the Council's decision conflicted with the law and with the interests of the Polish People's Republic. At a hearing before the Supreme Court, the prosecutor general supported the minister's position and stated that the Council's decision is really aimed at obtaining relief from payments to the PFAZ.

Representatives of the trade union and the factory management spoke in favor of dismissing the special appeal.

The trade union representative: Our demand was just. That fact that the Council in justifying its decision indicated that the management attempted to get relief in no way prejudices this case. This is only an unbinding opinion.

The legal adviser: The increase has mobilized the workforce to produce more. The results are already evident.

At the same time, both representatives questioned the procedure by which the decision of the Council, which is a social body and not a judicial body, was dismissed in court.

A procedure before a Social Arbitration Council, in the opinion of the Supreme Court, is one of the stages of mediation in factory disputes. Decisions of this body may be, but do not have to be, binding. Therefore, the Council's decision has no legal validity.

The Supreme Court, composed of three judges (W.Nyga, chairman of the adjudication team, M. Rafacz-Krzyzanowska, and S. Szymanska), thus rejected the special appeal, saying that it is not allowable from a decision of the Social Arbitration Council, which is not a judicial body. The fact that the president of the court is also a member of the Council does not mean that the Council acquires judicial standing.

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CSO: 2600/191

6 March 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

SEJM COMMISSIONS MEETING SCHEDULE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Nov 85 p 5

[Text] (PAP) The Sejm commissions intend to complete all of their analytical work on plans for next year's state budget, other financial documents, and laws submitted to the Sejm on Wednesday, by 13 December.

This was decided at the joint meeting of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the Commission for Legislative Work, with the participation of the chairmen of all of the parliamentary commissions. By that date too, the opinions and proposals arrived at by the particular commissions, will be summarized.

Roman Malinowski, marshal of the Sejm, who took part in the meeting, announced that during the first half of December the presidium of the Sejm would meet with the chairmen of the commissions and the chairmen of the provincial deputies groups, to discuss the plan for the Sejm's work next year and methods of cooperation.

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The Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and Administration of Justice met on the 28th of this month. Organizational matters relating to deputies' work on a draft of the budget law for 1986 and the commission's work during the current Sejm session were discussed.

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POLITICS

POLAND

FACTIONAL MANEUVERING IN ADVANCE OF PZPR 10TH CONGRESS

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Feb 86 p 10

[Article by Joerg Bremer: "Jaruzelski Sends Greetings--Polish Communists Prepare for Their Party Congress"]

[Text] Warsaw, February--The discussion between the party leadership and the membership is beginning in Poland at this time. Although the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) is not scheduled to take place until June, perhaps not until the end of June, it is necessary to overcome all disputes by that time, and the majority has to be such as to enable the state leadership under party chief Jaruzelski to conduct a harmonious party congress. The 23d Plenum of the Central Committee provided some indications about the time schedule, and the 24th Plenum clarified the main ideological points, to be followed immediately by the dispatch of a draft program to the party base. Between February and May each party cell must meet at least four times, consulting twice about the program and twice about the party theses. The regional organizations are to consult in the voivodships in May. In November the party had 2,112,000 members. Since the middle of last year the PZPR has again managed to register a greater number of accessions than withdrawals, with party candidates numbering 52,304 by November.

The 23d Plenum stated that there would be individual conversations between local and plant party secretaries and each member. The question here is not another verification, said Central Committee Secretary Mokrzyaszak recently in an interview with the party organ TRYBUNA LUDU; the party has 5 years of purges behind it. Rather, the party leadership wants to hear the opinion of every member, he pointed out. This appears to be necessary, for the politics of the technocrats and generals are far ahead of the views of the base. Thus a Stalinist method is now being resorted to to make the economic reform palatable. It was introduced in 1982 without consulting the medium- or low-level cadres and is unpopular because people now have to run greater risks and must work harder. Apparently the reform is still so shaky as to have prompted the following recent statement by party chief Jaruzelski: "The reform has not yet won out, but it is defending itself. That is quite an optimistic observation."

The ninth party congress in mid-July 1981 had been marked by the idea of speedy change. The Solidarity union dominated the thinking and sentiments. The Communist Party made itself more or less accessible to democratic rules, and among the people who obtained posts were some who, though well known, lacked political solidity. Now that reform is taking its toll. By limiting the tenure of any party post to two periods of 5 years each, it was intended to reduce the accumulation of posts. Good people did not leave their professions only to have to start all over again after 10 years. And whoever got on the party horse at that time now will not let himself be unseated.

The preparations for the 10th party congress, however, are not only guided by the resolution of the 23d Plenum; in addition, it coincides in part with the Soviet party congress but for the major part takes place after the Moscow event. Probably the party leadership in Warsaw too wonders about the new course of Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev. But wherever it would like to prevail in certain questions about which Moscow may be holding different views, Jaruzelski might be interested in prevailing during the next few weeks. This may concern questions of personnel as well as the program. It is already becoming evident that the party leadership is courting critics on the so-called right wing, for instance by appealing to the national conscience. Just these days the first congress was held of the "Vistula-Odra Society" headed by the nonparty anti-German Deputy Meclewski, with the party chief sending cordial greetings. A "Grunwald Committee" has now emerged at the Patriotic Movement for National Renaissance (PRON). Here it is said to be primarily a question of collecting funds for a monument commemorating the victory of the Poles and Lithuanians against the Teutonic Knights near Tannenberg. But that is probably not the whole story. PRON--a creation of the government--needs an upswing. Like all united fronts before it, it is ossifying. This would mean the failure of an idea of Jaruzelski's, and the general is therefore particularly interested in what goes on at PRON. The impression prevails that the government and the party wing supporting it are not uncontested. The party is not only a government lobby but also an opposition. Apparently it is less a question of issues--for example, economic reform or Poland's disastrous ecology--than, above all, one of power. Within a period of 5 days the official news agency PAP announced the relief of five district party secretaries. Kociolek, former ambassador in Moscow, is said to be on "recuperation leave." Former Foreign Minister Olszowski is reported to be engaged in academic work.

Nothing has been heard for a long time of Grabski, former economic adviser in East Berlin. In late October 1982 he had composed an open letter of criticism. The fact that Grabski resorted to this unusual method, showed what straits the opposition within the party was in. In the meantime this has changed somewhat. There are now fewer big names of the "opposition from the right," but there are many who have been deprived of power. These could ally themselves with those who have never been in power but now would like to advance to the decision-making level. Martial law

put some generals into posts which really should be held by civilian party cadres. Jaruzelski must see to it that the small "opposition from the right" is not strengthened considerably by this bigger "opposition from ambition." And there is a third counterforce, which is perhaps the most dangerous one. Whoever is still one of the 2.1 million party members has bent himself into shape quite a bit. He participated in the uprising from below at the time of Solidarity and has survived the purges during martial law. He did not quit like so many who belonged to the moderate camp. What can have kept him in the party: his phlegma or his ideological orientation?

The plegmatic ones, Jaruzelski wants to arouse with the individual conversations that have been decided on. The ideologues, he has to convince, and there he will be in difficulty, because ideology has been in no greater demand among the pragmatists in the military than among the economic technocrats in the apparatus. The general's concentration on the party leadership since the change in government last fall shows that he realizes this shortcoming. The 24th Plenum is to occupy itself with ideology and education. A revival of orthodox demands is spreading in the press. There is again more talk about democratic centralism than was the case at the ninth party congress. The party leadership will try also to attack its opponents with ideological arguments. Ideology is always conservative, though. So the government will try to obliterate the contrast between a moderate course and hard-line ideology.

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

VOIVOD COMMITTEE ECONOMIC TALKS--Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, secretary of the Central Committee and deputy member of the Politburo, chaired a meeting at the Central Committee of the PZPR with the heads of the divisions of party economy within the voivod committees. The meeting was devoted to a discussion of finance and economy within the party in 1986 with particular attention to an improvement of economic management and increasing thriftiness in the current activities of party organizations. Kazimierz Morawski, head of the Central Review Commission of the PZPR, took part in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Feb 86 p 2]

CSO: 2600/265

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

STRAINED RELATIONS WITH SWEDEN OVER BAREVIC, OTHER CASES

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 3 Jan 86 p 13

[Article by Sune Olofson: "Dragicevic, Barevic Pawns in Foreign Ministries' Game"]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry now admits that relations with Yugoslavia are strained. Even though the cases of Ivan Dragicevic and Georg Komaromi have not been settled, the Swedish embassy in Belgrade proposes that Sweden should officially invite Yugoslav Prime Minister Milka Planinc or Foreign Minister Raif Dizdarevic.

The Foreign Ministry had hoped that Ivan Dragicevic could be reunited with his family in Olofstrom before New Year's. That did not happen, however. Yugoslavia is still refusing to release Swedish citizen Dragicevic, even though a court in Sarajevo decided that his passport should be returned.

"Inflamed Atmosphere"

It is also evident now that there is a link between the cases of Ivan Dragicevic and Miro Barevic. In a report to the Foreign Ministry on the paroling of Barevic, Swedish Ambassador Lennart Myrsten writes the following:

"The Barevic decision has naturally complicated the matter of Dragicevic's leaving. It seems to me to be extremely difficult to push Dragicevic's case. Dragicevic, as you know, is now suspected of running errands for the Croatian separatists... Our gunpowder is wet here for the time being."

Everyone who knows Ivan Dragicevic assures us that he has been completely apolitical during his 20 years in Sweden. He only belongs to a Croatian Catholic religious association.

A Matter for Negotiation?

The question now is whether metallurgical worker Ivan Dragicevic of Olofstrom has become a matter for negotiation. Yugoslavia has expectations of more severe steps against Miro Barevic, the murderer of an ambassador.

The Foreign Ministry will not officially make that connection.

"It is probable that Dragicevic will be able to return to his family in Sweden," says Bertil Jobeus of the Foreign Ministry's press office. "We cannot understand why he has been kept so long, more than a year now."

"We have borne in mind certain reports that this issue can be settled, regardless of the friction between the two countries. The Baresic and Dragicevic cases have complicated our relations."

Yugoslavia has not specified the charges against Ivan Dragicevic. No trial has been held. Dragicevic's passport was taken away during a vacation trip in the summer of 1982. In Sweden, Miro Baresic had filed his third application for a parole, which was afterwards turned down. The publicity surrounding Baresic's fourth application for a parole, which was granted, was considerable. Lennart Myrsten writes:

"What offends the Yugoslavs most of all is that the government decided to commute the sentence in spite of the fact that Baresic never showed any real remorse in his repeated statements, either before or after the decision on the parole. On the contrary, he has even declared that he is going to fight for Croatian separatism, to all appearances by violent means, at least outside Sweden's borders. If a criminal like that is paroled, the Yugoslavs will interpret the decision as a tacit acceptance of terrorism."

Former Minister of Justice Lennart Geijer and former conservative leader Jarl Hjalmarsson were the ones who endorsed Baresic's application for a parole. Here is how Lennart Myrsten describes the Yugoslavs' reaction:

"The Geijer-Hjalmarsson pair's maudlin statement demonstrates what to the Yugoslavs is an incomprehensibly naive alienation from reality, in view of his long political past. It seems to me, however, that psychiatrist Goran Sedvalsson, who quite frankly declares it to be out of the question for Baresic to go back to violent crime, takes the prize."

In a year, the prison commission will decide whether Baresic is suitable for half-time release or not. If he is suitable, he will be free in the fall of 1987. From the Yugoslav point of view, the Swedish authorities still have a possibility of acting against Baresic.

A TV program produced by Yugoslavia's state-run television demands that Sweden ban anti-Yugoslav activity and "repair the damage" done to relations by the paroling of Baresic.

Bertil Jobeus says, "The Swedish government has no sympathy for anyone who wants to use violence or threats to undermine Yugoslavia's integrity. Sweden will not assist in breaking up Yugoslavia. We have recognized Yugoslavia, and we desire good and stable cooperation. Yugoslavia is a stabilizing factor in the Balkan region and in Europe."

Lennart Myrsten writes, "In the situation in which we now find ourselves, I wonder whether it would not further our desire to continue good relations with Yugoslavia if Prime Minister Planinc or Foreign Minister Dizdarevic were to be invited to pay an official return visit."

Family Held Hostage

Georg Komaromi has waited in Norrköping for three years for his wife and two children. They are being held as hostages in Yugoslavia. Komaromi, as the chairman in a workers' court, refused to acquit three high party officials who were suspected of bookkeeping crimes. He fled to Sweden.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

DRAGICEVIC PERMITTED TO LEAVE YUGOSLAVIA

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 12 Jan 86 p 7

[Unsigned article: "Dragicevic Home Again"]

[Text] Malmo (TT). "I could never have imagined that it would take so long. When they took away my passport, I thought it would take a couple of days."

Ivan Dragicevic was kept in Yugoslavia by the authorities for 18 months. He has now been reunited at last with his family in Malmo.

"It has been a long wait. I never got to know the real answer to the question of why I was being held, either," he told TT.

There was a celebration at Ivan Dragicevic's home in Malmo on Thursday. His friends came to congratulate him. Several of them had traveled down from Olofstrom, where Dragicevic and his family had lived previously. Flowers from his employer there stood on the table.

"The feelings that my family and I felt when they opened the door to the apartment and I stood outside cannot be described. It was incredibly wonderful to come home," he said.

It all began the week before midsummer in 1984, when the family was to travel for a vacation to Ivan's home town in Yugoslavia. They had lived in Sweden since 1968, but Ivan was still not a Swedish citizen.

The Police Took the Passport

After several days, the police came to the town and took his passport away from him. He was forced to remain in Yugoslavia. His wife and children had to return to Sweden alone.

"It was not a particularly wonderful feeling," he said. "But I believed that it would be settled, since I had not committed any crime. I was accused of being involved in anti-Yugoslav movements that I had never heard of. I have never been politically active."

For a while, he lived at the Swedish embassy in Belgrade. The foreign minister at that time, Lennart Bodstrom, also brought up his case during a visit to Belgrade. During his stay at the embassy, he also received Swedish citizenship. That did not help, either.

"I was very happy about the citizenship, and I believed that it would be straightened out then. It did not go exactly as I imagined."

In the middle of November 1985, he left the Swedish embassy and traveled home to his parents to help them with the farm. Several days ago he received his Yugoslav passport back from the authorities, quite unexpectedly.

"I did not get any particular information about why I was getting it back. I didn't ask, either, I just left."

"Not Bitter"

During the 18 months of his long wait, he was free the whole time, but he had to undergo interrogations.

"I was never afraid for myself, but I was very worried about my family at home in Sweden. I am not bitter any more," he said. "Right now it's just wonderful."

What will happen now is a little uncertain. During the time that he was held in Yugoslavia, his family moved from Olofstrom to Malmo.

"Now I am going to have a really good rest, and think the problem over," he says. "I have to talk everything over thoroughly with my family."

In spite of everything that he was forced to undergo, he can still imagine himself going back to Yugoslavia.

"I still have my old parents there. As long as they are alive, I will visit them. I am not afraid, I have not done anything, and I therefore know that I am not guilty."

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

COMMENTATOR VIEWS SOVIET ARTICLES ON SELF-MANAGEMENT

AU261953 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Jan 86

[Branislav Canak commentary in the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] An article carried in the latest issue of the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI published by the Economic Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stresses that socialist self-management can be realized exclusively within the framework of real socialism. Branislav Canak has made a commentary on that occasion:

Self-management has been more and more frequently mentioned in the Soviet Union, within the ideological discussions on the development of socialism. Views differ, ranging from the one that the organization of a socialist society has to lead to self-management in its final outcoming to its negation, and negation with such language that one usually uses when speaking about profound ideological deviations.

The discussions on the trends of the building of socialism in Soviet society are lately put into the context of new historical conditions--as has been frequently emphasized also from the political top. One speaks about the tasks of the new historical stage, something which implies new political and ideological answers, of course, and a different economic policy from the one from the past stages. The self-management of the people as the main landmark of future development of the political system of the Soviet Union, was mentioned by Andropov and Chernenko. The new edition of the CPSU program points out that the strategic line of the development of society consists of improving Soviet democracy and in an over fuller implementation of the socialist self-management of the people. However, articles that look as if they come from 1961, the time when the present program was adopted, sometimes appear, particularly in professional periodicals. Thus, an article entitled "Socialist, Self-management in Bourgeois and Revisionist Interpretation," written by (V. Caga) appeared in the January issue of the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI. Self-management is possible only in a system of real socialism, all the rest is a part of the arsenal of international counterrevolution, (Caga) says among other things. The author does not locate the nests of counterrevolution, believing, probably, that it is generally known where in the world self-management has been developing without prescriptions and socialist catechism.

The text in the VOPROSY EKONOMIKI is not the only one. Some other theoreticians and scientific workers have made themselves heard during the preparations for the forthcoming CPSU Congress and debates on various spheres of the Soviet ideological, political, and social development. Thus, an article in the journal SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA last year explains self-management to the readers as giving new form to old reformist ideas and as an attempt to organize society upon anarcho-syndicalist principles. The author even adds that from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory that concept is both utopian and reactionary.

Where does all that gall come from and what for? Who is it that should be dissuaded, and persuaded that self-management has several faces but that only one is the right one? It is possible that what suits Soviet society best in this stage of development is realization of self-management of the people through the state and, above all, through the Soviets of people's deputies. An important role was given to enterprises where, through the law on working collectives, employees get certain opportunities to participate in solving everyday questions. The modernized program that is going to come before the delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress is trying to get rid of some dated views and stereotypes contained in the present version. According to that version, for instance, the CPSU is building Communism within the world socialist system, and, according to the new edition, it is doing so within the borders of its country. This probably applies to self-management, too.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO TO IMPROVE RADIO NEAR ALBANIAN BORDER

Kosovo SAWP Presidium Meeting

AU051810 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 30 Jan 86 pp 1-2

[Report by C. Aliu]

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the provincial conference of the Kosovo SAWP at yesterday's meeting led by its chairman, Hysen Prekazi, and where among others present were Azem Azemi, member of the Presidium of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and Kocusha Jashari, chairman of the Provincial Council of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation, discussed various topical problems of local radio stations, and defined various concrete duties for their improvement.

In spite of results achieved, and continual progress, said Jorgovanka Milojevic in the opening speech and in discussion, there are weaknesses in our network of local radio stations, especially with regard to programming and technical arrangements, since broadcasting in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo does not operate as a unified network, which hampers the successful realization of present duties, and fails to meet the need for prompt additional general news in all districts. This becomes particularly important, considering the fact that some of these local radio stations are in border areas, where public opinion is subjected to the continual pressure of propaganda from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Therefore, our propaganda presentations on local radio must achieve the desired effect with the best possible organization.

Hence, it is important that our program planning in local radio stations in general, and especially in areas bordering on the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, should have analytic features, and well thought-out commentaries on the activities of organized socialist forces, and on the achievements that have been reached in Kosovo. There should be more encouragement than before for the kinds of journalistic approach that contribute to truly human relations between people, and the greatest possible mutual acceptance and understanding between our peoples and nationalities, and the creation of a democratic, self-managing, and socialist consciousness. A weakness of these information media, the meeting observed, is that their programming policy and content do not express properly the interests of the working class and working people in our self-managing society, and that their use of recorded reports weakens their authority and influence, and so forth.

There are various reasons for this situation, but the primary causes are the lack of trained staff and journalists, the lack of material resources, accommodations, etc. Able and trained staff do not stay long in these radio stations, because they do not have good material conditions, and one worry is the fact that various people in responsible positions despise these journalists, which closes off the sources of information. On the other hand, because of the lack of material resources, many radio stations, faced with financial problems, resort increasingly to economic propaganda broadcasts, music, and listeners' requests. This presents a permanent danger of intellectual and aesthetic distortion, leading to a decline of taste, and in recent instances damage to the authority of these radio stations.

To confront all these things, the SAWP must make decisive efforts for the socialization of these information media, preventing monopolistic tendencies in communication, and through its delegates and delegations, influencing programming policy, and editorial and staffing policy, in all the public information media--and also in local radio stations, which form an integral part of this network.

Measures To Prevent Albanian Jamming

AU101726 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 86

[Text] The Belgrade Radio Program Council has endorsed the report on the program of activity of Belgrade radio during the past year. Members of the council have positively assessed both the orientation and quality of the program. Representatives of Belgrade radio informed members of the council about warnings from many listeners that the audibility of Belgrade radio's first program was being interfered with by jamming in the areas of Kosovo and a part of Montenegro and that this was being done exactly during informative programs. Tests carried out have shown these warnings to have been correct. The source of the jamming is in Albania. Belgrade radio has undertaken all measures with our state organs with a view to having this unlawful interference of national and interstate activity prevented.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

POLITIKA REPORTS ON SATELLITE DISH ANTENNAS

AU111034

[Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 1 February on page 8 and on 3 February on page 6 carries a number of reports, ranging in length from 500 to 1,200 words, on the production, installation, and the legality of satellite dish antennas in Yugoslavia.

The first of the two reports carried in POLITIKA on 1 February, a 1,200-word report by Milisav Krstic, provides details regarding the production and installation of antennas. According to it, Ohrid will soon install a dish antenna of unspecified size "which will enable its citizens to receive almost all the world's radio and television programs which are broadcast via satellite. The engineers from Ohrid's Video-Engineering Work Organization have already completed the project which will be finalized by the installation of a dish antenna produced by the Tito metallurgical plant of Skopje." According to the report "this producer's satellite antennas for the cable television system have already been installed in Split, Sarejevo, Belgrade (Sava Center), Skopje, and Zagreb. As is expected, the satellite antennas will soon be available to the European market. These antennas will be slightly smaller in diameter, 2.4, 1.8, and 1.2 meters."

A boxed report by V.R. within Krstic's report refers to the legal aspects of receiving foreign television programs and cites Zoran Josipovic, assistant secretary to the president of Serbia's Committee for Information, saying:

"Owning an antenna for receiving foreign satellite programs in Serbia is not and cannot be prohibited. The question of receiving satellite programs has not been dealt with in the Law of Public Information because--and the reason is clear--these programs are not broadcast by our domestic television." Josipovic then went on to say that the law on this matter will become more precise in the next few years because all radio and television organizations have the introduction of satellite programs by 1990 in their plans. Meanwhile, "satellite programs are allowed to be received by all those who have an antenna."

The other report carried on 1 February a 500-word report by R. Kovacevic, refers to the installation of a dish antenna in Split. Following the objection raised by the Zagreb Television, an inspector from the Republic's Committee for Traffic and Communications declared the installation illegal by quoting an article

from the Republic Law on Public Information according to which "the installation of radio-broadcasting objects for receiving foreign programs outside the Radio Television Zagreb system is prohibited." Apart from the installation of the antenna, according to the inspector, they also broke two federal laws which were not specified in the report, and the international copyright law which our country respects.

A 500-word TANJUG report in POLITIKA of 3 February on page 6 refers to efforts being made in drafting new legislation regarding satellite television. According to the new legislation, receiving cable television programs will require licenses for which only organizations and not individuals will be eligible. The Federal Office for Radio Communications has granted few such licenses. Among the recipients of the license which is valid for only 1 month was the Tito plant of Skopje. The license was granted for the purpose of testing the new antennas only which makes the sale of the antenna to the Split Video Club "unauthorized." According to the TANJUG report "the license for receiving programs via satellites which are primarily meant for cable television require an agreement with the owners of the satellites and with the producers of the satellite programs. An agreement signed with the owners is valid for all receivers in the country. Agreements with program producers is signed either directly by the users themselves or through authorized organizations for the protection of copyright.

"In contrast to these satellites which are used for the distribution of commercial television programs, in the future we shall have radio-diffusion satellites which will broadcast programs for the general public. These are the programs we are currently receiving via ground transmitters. For receiving these programs one will not need a license."

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO LC DISCUSSES VETERANS ALLEGATIONS

AU121727 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by M.A.]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 2 Feb--On 1 February the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo adopted the draft report on the committee's work between the two conferences, the draft resolution for the 14th Conference of the LC of Kosovo, and the preliminary draft of the amendments to the Statute of the LC of Kosovo. All these documents have been submitted to a public discussion which will last 2 months.

The Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo fixed the 14th Conference of the LC of Kosovo for 28 and 29 April 1986. It will be held in Pristina.

What the Veterans Said

At the beginning of the session, Veli Deva requested that the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo be informed about the meeting of the section of veterans from Kosovo who live in Belgrade which was held on 12 December in Belgrade and which was attended by Kolj Siroka. Deva said that he learned in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE that "the conclusions adopted with acclamation and applause" attacked not only some prominent revolutionaries but also the 40-year policy and struggle conducted by the LC of Kosovo in all front. He said that the Provincial Committee must declare itself about such accusations, because silence brings disorientation among LC members.

At the conclusion of the session, Kolj Siroka informed the members of the LC Provincial Committee rather extensively about this meeting, after which an extremely lively and polemical discussion followed in which several members of the Provincial Committee took part. Afterward it was agreed that the Presidium should prepare a special report and that one of the coming sessions should discuss it and adopt appropriate stands.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

WESTERN COMMENT ON MIKULIC NOMINATION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Feb 86 p 6

[Article by Viktor Meier]

[Excerpt] Mikulic said... in a kind of "program-presentation speech before the Socialist Alliance... that he wanted only people in his government who are Yugoslav-oriented and have the necessary professional and "political-moral" qualifications. And if this goal should not be realized, he could consider relinquishing his post [he said].

The formulation "Yugoslav-oriented" has aroused attention in Belgrade because it expresses also unitarist and centralist opinions, even if Mikulic spoke of a "balance" between the interests of the republics and the federal interest. In any case Mikulic appears to see the strong power apparatus of the republics as the opponent; this will result in conflicts. A certain skepticism prevails in Belgrade as to whether Mikulic, a Bosnian, can restore the authority of the federal government as he seems to think he can.

The initiative which led to Mikulic's nomination began last November in the State Presidency and was linked to criticism of Milka Planinc. The initiative was made above all by three Presidency members, Vrhovec (Croatia), Dolanc (Slovenia), and Mikulic. It appears that former general and defense minister Ljubicic, the Serbian representative, who is feuding with the present party leadership, associated himself with them. Whether part of the army leadership also supported the initiative is not known; the army has several times recently supported a strengthening of federal power.

The members of this apparent "alliance" also have differences among themselves. The initiative may have resulted, rather, from an accidental cooperation among the most active elements in the state leadership. All those involved were persons who are having difficulties in their own republics. Mikulic took the chance of stepping down one level in the hierarchy. To be sure, the essential decisions today are made, above all in the federal government [Federal Executive Council]. The "guidance" role of the State Presidency has so far been found not to be effective. The authority of the Party has been in question for a long time. The form of the initiative is tied to the results of the "Critical Analysis" of the functioning of the political system which was undertaken by a commission led by Presidium member Vrhovec. The attempt is being presently made to bring the results of this Analysis into the platform for the up-coming Party Congress in June.

The cautious assessment of this attempt to bring about a "centralist renaissance" is based not only on the anticipated conflicts with the strong republic leaderships but on the inefficiency of the federal bureaucracy to which many speakers from the republics have referred. The initiative is very pointedly against Serbia..., whose party leader, Stambolic, was demonstratively rejected from the beginning as a candidate for the post. Slovenia also has little liking for Mikulic. In Croatia a rather federative spirit has also prevailed, at least in the economic-political field. Intellectuals from all republics fear the "Bosnian conditions"--a reference to the clear disrespect for human rights and freedoms in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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CSO: 2300/194

6 March 1986

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

SVETISLAV POPOVIC VISITS KOSOVO--Pristina 13 Feb (TANJUG)--Lieutenant Colonel General Dr Svetislav Popovic, assistant Federal secretary for national defense, who is paying a 2-day visit to the Autonomous Province of Kosovo with his aides, today had talks with Nedjo Borkovic, president of the provincial Executive Council. It was reported that the level of cooperation achieved so far between the Yugoslav People's Army and the Kosovo economy had been successful, and that possibilities exist for further expansion and progress. The representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense will also visit a number of organizations of associated labor in the province. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 13 Feb 86 LD]/12766

ETHNIC ZONING NOTICED--A session of the Committee for Relations Among Nationalities of the Republic Conference of the SWP of Macedonia discussed the activities of the SAWP of Macedonia in the development of brotherhood, unity, togetherness, and equality in the republic. It was pointed out that the sociopolitical activities and the measures taken in the past period have given quite good results in preventing public organized actions by Albanian nationalists and irredentists. In some communes in which sociopolitical activities have been well-organized and constant, visible successes have been noted. People of Albanian nationality are joining more in actions against the hostile activities of Albanian nationalists and irredentists. It was pointed out in the discussion, however, that even in the capital, Skopje, the phenomenon of creating pure ethnic communities or rather zones is present. In nationally mixed parts of the city, some people sell their apartments and move to those parts where their co-nationals are more numerous. The request was voiced in the discussion that a more serious approach be made to this question and that measures should be taken against this phenomenon. [Text] [Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 86 AU]/12766

CSO: 2800/164

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN NUCLEAR RESEARCH URGED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Dec 85 p 4

[Article by Zdenek Tluchor, candidate of sciences, director of the Institute of Plasma Physics, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "A Hope Named TOKAMAK"]

[Text] We know that both sides at the Geneva meeting between Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan decided that they will contribute through joint research and practical steps toward fulfilling, among other tasks, the global task of protecting the environment. They consider the broadening of exchanges and contacts in the fields of education, culture and many areas of science, such as the fight against malignant illnesses, to be a worthwhile goal.

Both leading representatives emphasized the potential significance of research focused on the peaceful use of controlled thermonuclear fusion, in which connection they agreed that there should be multinational practical development of international cooperation in the effort to put this basically inexhaustible source of energy to use for the good of the entire human race.

Let us take a close look at the substance beneath the words of the final paragraph of the joint communique. We know from the discussions and publications of recent years that the human race has already exhausted a significant proportion of the resources of fossil fuels (coal, petroleum, gas) which have accumulated on earth over millions of years. Because the supplies of these fuels, which are distributed extremely unevenly among the individual countries of the world, will last but several decades or centuries, the human race is faced with the necessity to learn how to effectively utilize the energy freed from atomic nuclei, i.e., atomic or nuclear energy. One of the ways of freeing this energy is to split the atoms of heavy elements, for example uranium. Since the first Soviet nuclear power plant in Obninsk, built in 1955, the world has been building power plants using the splitting of uranium. But even the supplies of Uranium-235 isotopes, from which energy is obtained in particular with the current generation of nuclear power plants, will last only several decades. In the future, Uranium-238 will be used, and will be converted to fissionable plutonium in so-called fast reactors, with the result that it will be possible to increase the capacity to use fission reactors to meet the fuel energy balance by a factor of at least 20.

However, it is assumed that the main source of atomic energy will later be controlled thermonuclear chain reactions of light elements, for example the isotopes of hydrogen. Both during the fission of the nuclei of heavy elements and during the fusion of the nuclei of light elements, neutrons and other particles are freed whose kinetic energy represents atomic energy. This process was verified as early as during the testing of thermonuclear explosions which took place in the early 1950s. Since that time, the laboratories of the majority of the industrial countries of the world have been trying to develop equipment for the utilization of controlled thermonuclear reactions for the production of energy. On the other hand, thermonuclear fusion has been used for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, whether in the form of hydrogen bombs, neutron bombs or other bombs. Supplies of these weapons continue to grow. By limiting armaments or through nuclear disarmament, the human race would not only be able to meet financial needs, but would obtain the materials needed to accelerate research on thermonuclear fusion in thermonuclear power plants.

At present, the instrument designed in the early 1950s at the I.V. Kurchatov Institute for Atomic Energy in Moscow and known as TOKAMAK (after the initial letters of four Russian words which translate to mean "toroidal," i.e., annular chamber with magnetizing coils--ed.) is among the most developed and successful thermonuclear equipment. In the TOKAMAK, ionized gas (plasma) is formed in the annular (toroidal) chamber through which electric current flows to form a strong magnetic field. In order to reach the extremely high temperature needed for a thermonuclear reaction in the plasma, additional heating of it is necessary. One way to do this is to absorb the large high frequency output in the plasma. One of the most effective ways to do this is to use the output of a millimetric wave generator, the gyrotron, which heats up the electrons in the plasma. The USSR is significantly ahead of the rest of the world as regards research on and the manufacture of such generators. This has created an opportunity for Czechoslovak science and industry, within the framework of the joint research project of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, among other research projects, to take part in designing and supplying a significant part of this high frequency heating complex for the newly built large superconductive T-50 TOKAMAK at the I.V. Kurchatov Institute in Moscow.

Laboratory centers using this TOKAMAK equipment have been built in the USSR, the USA, Japan, and Great Britain, representing the members of Euratom. But there is still a long way to go to have a demonstrator thermonuclear power plant. For many years the USSR and the USA have had a joint committee for the exchange of experiences and specialized scientists in this field. During its meetings (alternately held in the USSR and the USA), it evaluates the results obtained and the prospects for thermonuclear research in those countries. In recent years, however, its work has been hampered by the American side. One of the key areas of Soviet and American research is specifically the results of heating the plasma using 24 gyrotron generators, which have aroused great interest in laboratories throughout the world.

The last few years have shown that, for functional reasons, thermonuclear reactors must be relatively large and use expensive equipment. Future generations of thermonuclear reactors, like future power reactors, are supposed to cost somewhat less than current 1,000 MW nuclear power plants (with fast

reactors). The huge costs exceed the present annual budgets for research in this field, even in the largest countries, indicating that there should be a joint effort on the part of many countries. That is why, as early as 1979 as the result of a Soviet initiative, a research group was established at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna consisting of representatives of Eurotom, Japan, the USSR and the USA, with a view to carrying out a joint project on the TOKAMAK reactor. The international team of scientists and technologists gradually drew up a detailed project for the large TOKAMAK called INTOR, which when approved would be placed into operation in 1993.

There is no disputing the usefulness of such international cooperation in the case of this equipment. While the USSR has been suggesting a joint effort on this project from the very outset, in recent years it has been hampered by the negative position of the Western countries. The efforts of these countries went into individually and independently manufacturing a number of different small thermonuclear facilities similar to the INTOR, but with significantly smaller possibilities. That is why M. Gorbachev suggested first to the French president, and later at the Geneva Summit with President Reagan, the joint realization of the thermonuclear project on the basis of the TOKAMAK equipment. By limiting armaments, further resources have been obtained for the acceleration of this project. I reiterate that thermonuclear power plants will provide a lasting solution to the problem of providing a sufficient amount of energy for the people on earth for millions of years, not to mention their impact on the living environment, where turning to thermonuclear power plants would make a positive contribution to solving environmental problems.

The last paragraph of the joint communique of the leading representatives of the USSR and the USA in Geneva indicates that there is hope for positive steps in this area.

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SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EUROPEAN CULTURAL FORUM APPRAISED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by Gejza Vilcek: "To Proclaim Promulgating Hate as Illegal"]

[Text] Budapest (From our permanent correspondent)--On Friday the Cultural Forum in Budapest terminated the phase of discussions in work groups, and the final week of plenary sessions is coming. On this occasion Miroslav Kaizr, press representative of the Czechoslovak delegation, stated, among other things, the following:

The past 5 weeks of Cultural Forum discussions and 4 weeks of exacting, though qualified and honest work in advisory committees should lead to a conclusive document. At present it cannot be said with certainty yet whether this document is going to be approved, and if so, in what form, scope and level. There are still many open questions and differing opinions regarding the very substance and sense of these discussions, as one could gather from the last presentations of some western countries' delegates. However, as early as today we can state with full responsibility that a significant representation of European culture has met here in Budapest, even when some western countries' delegates have not contributed much to an understanding with their presentations. Most of the gathered people are those, however, who have something to say to one another, who sincerely care about the questions as to what kind of cultural development is to occur in the future and what is the basic condition of this development.

Many delegates have discussed very positively some questions which concern us as well, and which have to be agreed upon. These are the questions of favorable development of juvenile literature and of a broader writers' exchange. Further topics of discussion included the ways of mutual acquaintance, the creation of conditions for the development of literature in lesser known languages and the consequent concern about the quality of artistic translation. Of great importance here is the cooperation of publishing houses, and dealing with many problems connected with the protection of authors against copyright piracy, which occurs particularly in some western countries.

An agreement has been reached regarding the proposal presented by the Czechoslovak delegation to set up a research task "Culture and Humankind on

the Threshold of Millennium" which would cover questions of narrower cooperation in the education of young artists' generation, of collaboration among libraries and museums, and those of preserving the cultural values of the past.

The Czechoslovak delegation has very actively contributed to a positive resolving of some problems. During the 2 weeks of the Forum 25 prominent Czech and Slovak writers and experts contributed to discussions, many of them several times. Their presentations were accepted and evaluated as highly qualified and competent. All socialist countries' delegations thoroughly and patiently expounded the ways in which our culture flourishes, and in what ways we contribute to the development of cultural exchange and cooperation. Also, our delegation presented a series of proposals as to which problems should be dealt with in cooperation. However, they were not always met with understanding and agreement.

Prompted by the efforts of some delegations, the Czechoslovak delegation has proposed, issuing from the fact that one of the main obstacles on the road to broaden and improve cooperation is bias, mistrust and disinformation, to condemn psychological war as incompatible with the traditions and purposes of European culture. The governments of participating countries were recommended to take measures which would prosecute the spreading of lies about, and hate toward, other countries, as illegal. This proposal of our delegation has gained support of several other delegations.

To conclude, Miroslav Kaizr has proclaimed that even at present it is possible to state that a magnificent and unique encounter of the representatives of European countries is at stake here. This meeting has contributed to an open dialogue about all significant questions concerning present culture. One should believe that all delegations will draw their own conclusions, which by itself might be fruitful in the future.

9910/9312

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SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FATHER MALY ON HUMAN RIGHTS, POLICE HARASSMENT

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 11 Jan 86 p 12

[Interview with Father Vaclav Maly by correspondent Frank Johansson: "A Dissident Speaks Out"; first paragraph is HUFVUDSTADSBLADET introduction]

[Text] Father Vaclav Maly is 35 years old. He is a Catholic priest and lives in Prague. Maly is one of about 1,300 Czechoslovaks who signed Charta 77. He has even been the spokesman for the civil rights manifesto. Vaclav Maly is officially an enemy of the Czechoslovak republic. He is a dissident.

"Hello there, and good luck," he said. "Be careful." When we shook hands he looked me straight in the eye. His eyes flashed and then he looked away again. He does that often. Perhaps because his eyes have a barely perceptible slant.

The pedestrian light changed to green and the little outspoken Catholic priest with the rumpled hair joined the throng. With rapid strides he went past the Hotel Intercontinental. He walked fast. He must get to a much smaller hotel in Prague's old town. In order to check the heating systems and stoke the furnaces. He works as a furnaceman.

"Be careful."

The last words that Vaclav Maly said sank slowly into my consciousness. I tried once more to see him, but the checkered flannel shirt and the dark hair had managed to disappear.

Of course it was not I who should be careful, but he.

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One month later I was sitting at home reading what Amnesty International had written about Czechoslovakia. This was from the 1983 annual report:

"According to Amnesty's information former prisoners of conscience who continue their activities, and their families, are exposed to psychological pressure. Vaclav Maly and Ladislav Lis, who were released from prison in December 1979 are reported thereafter as having been repeatedly interrogated

and watched by the police. According to reports Vaclav Maly was threatened with death by the police on 7 January 1982. Since then he has been under increasing pressure from the police to emigrate."

During interrogation on 7 January 1982 the police threatened to kill him in a "fixed" automobile accident or to throw him into the Moldau River from one of Prague's many bridges.

The same thing was repeated on 4 February 1982. The interrogators scoffed at his christian belief, threatened to make him a cripple and he was told not to meet other Charta 77 activists.

Also in Amnesty International's annual report for 1981 Vaclav Maly had the "honor" of being mentioned by name. Then it was a case of extreme mistreatment during a police interrogation.

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"Three or four years ago I was interrogated regularly by the police, at least once a week," said Maly, at home in his apartment in Prague.

"Sometimes the interrogation lasted two hours, sometimes four. Occasionally I sat in prison for two days.

"Now I am called in for interrogation only four or five times a year. The last time that happened was just a week go."

On 19 September 1985 he visited his good friend, civil rights activist Ladislav Lis, in northern Bohemia. Late in the evening the police rushed into the house, searched it thoroughly and took Vaclav Maly away.

"First they took my clothes off down to my drawers, and then they interrogated me about a pistol which I really knew nothing about. The police knew it too. It was just a pretext for disturbing us.

"After the interrogation I was taken--still without clothes--out into a forest. I did not know the area, and I stumbled and fell over tree roots."

Maly still has abrasions on his arms and legs from the episode. He says that the entire time he was in the forest he could hear footsteps and heavy breathing nearby.

"They were trying to frighten me, and they succeeded." Finally he found his way out of the forest and back to the home of his friend.

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Nine years ago, on New Years Day 1977, the civil rights manifesto Charta 77 was published in Czechoslovakia.

The manifesto came from the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the final KSSE document at Helsinki.

The manifesto states:

"The human freedoms and rights which are outlined in these conventions are features of civilized life which many progressive movements have fought for throughout history, the codification of which can greatly help human development in our society.

"Accordingly we welcome Czechoslovakia's support for these agreements.

"That they are now being published as a code of statutes, however, is a powerful reminder of the extent of basic human rights in our country. Unfortunately they exist only on paper."

Thereafter Charta 77 criticizes Czechoslovak reality in detail, and in the end looks forward:

"Charta 77 is no organization, it has no charter, no journal and no established membership. Every person who agrees with its ideas, participates in its work and supports it can belong.

"Charta 77 is not a basis for political opposition. The group will serve the common interest in the same way as similar action groups in other countries in the East and the West.

"It will therefore not propose its own programs for political or social reforms or changes but will carry on a constructive dialogue with the political and national authorities. This will be especially to prove various specific cases of violations of human freedoms and rights, to prepare documentation thereof, to recommend solutions and suggestions with an aim to reinforcing and guaranteeing these rights, and finally to act as mediator in conflict situations which could lead to violations of these rights.

"By its symbolic name Charta 77 says that it has arrived at the threshold of a year which is declared the year of the political prisoner, and a year when the follow-up conference in Belgrade will test how well the obligations of Helsinki have been fulfilled.

"We believe that Charta 77 can help all Czechoslovak citizens to work and live as free people."

Charta 77 was signed by 257 Czechoslovak citizens. At the same time they chose philosopher Jan Patocka, writer Vaclav Havel, and former Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek from the 1968 "Springtime in Prague" government of Alexander Dubcek as the spokesmen for Charta 77.

Official Czechoslovakia immediately reacted violently to the Charta. Despite Jan Patocka's being very ill he was persecuted until the end by the security police.

Patocka died on 13 March 1977--Charta 77 had its first martyr.

Other leading signatories of the Charta--including Vaclav Havel--were arrested and imprisoned by the regime.

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Even though Charta 77 is seldom seen in the news today, it is working silently the entire time. Every year about 30 reports and documents are published, mostly critical writings aimed at a public authority.

These writings are published in the names of the three spokesmen, who can be and have been women. The spokesmen are changed every year.

Since the start of 1977 the working area of the manifesto has expanded. Charta 77 now also takes positions on peace and environmental issues.

The signers of Charta 77 represent many different political views, and are far from unified on all questions. On the other hand nearly all of them are intellectuals. Charta 77 has never won support among workers or farmers.

The signers can generally be divided into three groups: Christians, cultural personalities and so-called Dubcek communists. For a number of years each of the three spokesmen has represented one of the three groups.

Today about 1,300 Czechoslovaks have signed Charta 77. Every month the number grows by three or four. For many the signing is their only action. The real activists are counted in the tens, not in the hundreds.

As a rule those who sign the Charta lose their jobs, they and their families are harassed by the police, and arrests occur.

Signing Charta 77 means that one is placing himself outside the main stream of Czechoslovak life. It means that he must support himself outside the community.

In 1978 Vaclav Maly signed Charta 77 and in 1981 he was one of its spokesmen.

Today he is 35 years old and a furnaceman at a hotel. But deep inside he is still a priest. A profession which he cannot practice officially--that would be breaking the law.

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As for so many others it also began for Vaclav Maly at the end of the 60's. The young Maly was attending junior college and had plans to be an archeologist.

In 1968 Alexander Dubcek came to power and introduced extensive reforms. Czechoslovakia was going to build a socialist society with a human face.

"We thought that 'Springtime in Prague' was going to change everything. When the invasion came in August--when Soviet tanks rolled into Prague--there were many who gave up. They thought it all was in vain.

"But I said no. We must be able to fight. I had been a Christian my entire life, and now I was especially inspired by the evangelistic texts. I decided when I was 18 years old that I would become a priest."

After six years of study Maly graduated in 1976. He got a job as a prison priest and later as chaplain in a congregation in Prague.

"It was sometime in 1978 that I realized that I could not continue to work like all the others. I realized that I must preach the truth. As a priest I had to be interested in people's problems. I must become involved."

And Father Maly became involved. He began working for the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (Czechoslovak abbreviation VONS) immediately after it was formed in 1978. And he signed Charta 77.

"I could do nothing else. We priests must also take responsibility here, and not just talk about salvation in another life.

"Within the church, however, they did not understand my decision. It was a crime to sign the Charta. Even Cardinal Tomasek was bitter. He said it was deceitful to mix earthly politics with religion. But now they understand me again. Now we are again on the same side."

In Czechoslovakia priests are paid by the state. And in order to practice as a priest one must have an official license. In this way the state can observe and control the church.

"In 1979 my license was taken from me. Officially it was said that it was because I had improperly performed my duties. But the real reason, which is not written down anywhere, was that I had great influence with the youths--many listened to me. And also that I signed the Charta and was active in VONS, of course."

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In May 1979 Vaclav Maly was arrested. He was one of the critics of the regime who were taken in an extensive wave of arrests.

Maly and the others were accused of conducting destructive activities against the Czechoslovak Republic.

The wave of arrests also crossed the news threshold here in Finland. The trial later the same fall was reported in HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in the news and the editorial columns.

Most reporting, however, was about the writer and former Charta spokesman Vaclav Havel.

Because of his Charta activities Havel had been in prison most of 1977 and 1978. Now he was again among those being sentenced. He received four and one-half years in prison.

Vaclav Maly's name did not appear in the press. But he was also in Ruzyně prison in Prague with Havel.

"I was in prison for seven months. I was released in December and since then the police have always followed me."

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During the time I was in Prague I met Father Maly twice. The first time we met at his home. He lives in one of Prague's southwestern suburbs, high up on a hill overlooking the river valley.

On the outside the house appears to be a neat single family house with flower beds and a trimmed lawn. There is a BMW and a large Skoda outside the garage. But the outside and the inside of Maly's house do not resemble each other.

In the two-story house there are four families, not just one. Maly lives with his father in one room.

In the middle of the floor there is a large table. One wall is occupied by a kitchen cabinet, a counter and a hotplate. Besides the table, the furniture consists of a couple of chairs, a bookshelf and a bed.

On the window sill there is a large radio-tape recorder. The walls are bare except for over the bed, where there is a picture of Madonna and a small crucifix.

Father Maly asked if I smoke and offered coffee. Before we began to talk he locked the door to the stairway and pulled the curtains.

I said something about the fashionable quarter in which he lived.

"Yes, that is true, from a material standpoint most people are well off. Nobody is starving."

Then why protest?

"Because everything is a game--a silent pact between the communists and the people. 'We will take care of the politics and you will become rich.'

"The people have no interest in social problems, only for themselves. Every day one can see how morality is being destroyed. Czechoslovakia is a country without morals, everybody steals from the system. Nobody takes responsibility, nobody is encouraged to take responsibility.

"The people are cowardly. For example, if safety in a factory is deficient, nobody complains. If someone should complain he is in disfavor with the boss. If the boss finds the least little mistake on the part of the complainer he is transferred--possibly at a lower wage. The workers are more interested in their own wages than in the safety of others.

"In private and in the taverns everyone complains about the unjust and rotten system."

Maly does not expect a reaction such as the one in Poland. He says that extensive protests are not possible.

The living standard is so high that people do not need to feel solidarity. They concentrate instead on consumption.

When I asked him about his own political intuitions he burst out laughing. Then he pondered a moment and replied.

"I am an independent democrat who believes in social justice.

"And in our 'classless' society there is no social justice. There is an enormous chasm between the people and the party elite."

Do you believe that the chasm is greater here than in capitalist countries?

"I don't know. I do not know the conditions in your countries so well. But the situation in our country is a parody of marxism-leninism.

"The ideology as such is OK. But the theory promises something different from what we have in practice. Our leaders do not believe in any ideology--they have no morality and no belief. The only thing they believe in is leadership--their own leadership."

Father Maly says that he believes in the people, and all changes must come from the people themselves.

"Always when I meet people I tell them that they can do something, that it is their duty to stand up and speak out.

"People who work in commerce and are allowed to travel abroad should stand up and say, 'Not just us--everybody should be allowed to travel.'"

Vaclav Maly speaks rapidly and eagerly. Sometimes his English gets mixed up and he substitutes the word in German or French. He gestures with his arms and his glance moves constantly without pausing for long. A big smile dominates his round face. He laughs heartily and often. Since 1981 when he was a spokesman for Charta 77 he has not done much within the framework of the manifesto or in its name.

"Mostly I have worked in VONS, which has a more limited mandate. We support and defend those who are judged in clearly political trials. There are 80-90 such cases each year.

"We look for the reports of proceedings and other documents from the courts, we help the accused with their defense, write and appeal to the authorities, help relatives and friends, etc. It depends on the case."

In other words a kind of free assistance which operates on ideological

grounds.

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Vaclav Maly has paid a dear price for his activities. He cannot pursue his profession, he has been accused, imprisoned and mistreated. His mail is intercepted and some of it never gets through to him. For several years he has given up trying to get a telephone. Now he is most disturbed by being followed regularly by the security police.

"Sometimes there are two policemen and sometimes 10. They wait for me outside my job and follow me wherever I go.

"If I meet anyone, that person is thereafter called in for interrogation and harassment. They want people to avoid me.

"When I notice that I am being followed I avoid friends whom I know are unknown to the police.

"The surveillance does not follow any pattern. Sometimes I can go for a week without being followed, sometimes they are there several days in a row.

"I am sure that some of my neighbors also cooperate with the police."

Doesn't that make you paranoid?

"No, no, no, no," he said very quickly, and then laughed for a long time. Then he became serious again.

"I know that the risk exists, and I always try to work against it."

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The highly notorious trial of the VONS and Charta 77 activists in October 1979 was the last of its kind. And the numbers of prisoners of conscience which Amnesty International works for in Czechoslovakia has declined from 35 in December 1981 to 14 in mid-June 1985.

The outward appearance is that developments are moving toward a more liberal and humane direction. The truth is something else.

Instead of long prison sentences for subversive activity, the civil rights activists get several days arrest for various small misdemeanors. Instead of large trials, a short two hours interrogation once a week.

The goal of the Czechoslovak regime is clear: to in every way limit and subvert the activities of the dissidents--without putting them in prison and without the negative publicity which this imprisonment causes. House searches and constant surveillance by the security police are effective methods.

If you can not put the people in prison, bring the prison to them.

Father Maly's contact with the outside world takes place through friends and friends of friends.

"I get news from the West mainly via LE MONDE which an acquaintance smuggles in for me. Newspapers circulate from hand to hand like Samizdat newspapers in the Soviet Union.

And via the radio. While I was visiting him Maly tuned in the news from Voice of America.

Do you listen to Voice of America regularly?

"Yes, if I can manage to be at home. But not only Voice of America, I also listen to Austrian Radio and BBC.

According to Maly over half of the Czechoslovak people listen to foreign radio stations and look at foreign TV.

"But they are too cowardly to admit it openly. Most of them inwardly support Charta 77 also, but they don't boast about that either. It is all a kind of double-dealing."

Three days later we met again. This time it was outside the hotel where Maly works. We had agreed that I would sit and wait on the steps of the church opposite the hotel. If he was being shadowed he would go past me without showing any sign of recognition.

"Hi, how is everything?"

"Fine, and you?"

"I was followed all day yesterday and the day before. Today there was nobody, you were lucky."

Maly does not want to remain long in the same place. We walked through the old town and down by the Moldau. By the river bank we passed the Dvorak Room where the same evening I was to hear a concert by the Czechoslovak Philharmonic.

We discussed this and that. I tried to ask Maly about his views on world politics. We had talked a bit about this during the evening at his home.

"Communism is evil," he said.

You no longer believe in reforms as in 1968?

"I am a realist. Geopolitically we are a Soviet satellite, and to change that would be an enormous and slow process.

"Of course you understand what I mean. You in Finland must also glance in the direction of the Soviets. You are not free as is Sweden."

Reforms in the Soviet Union then, how would they affect Czechoslovakia?

Gorbachov is not a declared ideolog. He is a business manager. His goal is to strengthen the Soviet economy.

"But behind him there is still an ideology--the same old ideology. To support all communist revolutions and to rule the world. A better Soviet Economy means at the same time a better Soviet Army--also in Czechoslovakia.

"As long as communism exists there can only be room for limited freedom."

He ponders a moment and then continues.

"But I also approve of limited freedom, that is better than no freedom at all. For example, it is better in Hungary than it is here."

And also at Father Maly's home.

On the way up toward the view point where the statue of Stalin looks out over Prague, Father Maly repeats his views.

"But the world is not black and white. And I am not so naive. America has its own problems and there is much which is wrong there too. What Reagan is doing in Central America is wrong."

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We reached the top and looked out over Prague's church towers and roofs. Although it was sunny one could not see very far. There is always a haze over the city--the air is among the dirtiest in Europe.

Father Maly's thoughts were far from Prague.

"At every interrogation they offer me the chance to emigrate. But I do not dare. Then I would never be able to return.

"I have never been outside of Czechoslovakia. Not even to other East bloc countries."

Theologian Vaclav Maly has received several invitations from foreign universities. For further studies. But he has always said no, thank you.

"Of course I would like to travel abroad. But only for a few years. To see how life is there."

Maly does not want to be away from Prague and Czechoslovakia. His life is here.

"I am a Catholic priest. I cannot leave my task."

"Although the political situation is going badly, I always have my faith and my studies to fall back on. And of course VONS. Today I learned about two new trials."

With mention of the two trials the sunny smile returned to Maly's melancholy face.

"Now and then I do various small jobs for the church. Of course, since I do not have a license it is prohibited--if I were permanent I could get up to two years in prison."

I carefully asked Father Maly if my writings were going to cause him problems.

"Perhaps, perhaps not. But write. Then people will know. I have nothing to hide, I work completely openly."

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Maly has already overstayed his lunch hour, and wants to leave.

Do people recognize you on the street? Do they know that you are Vaclav Maly?

"No, they do not. At work they know that I signed the Charta. And the neighbors, of course."

What do they say about that?

"Support is always concealed. A pat on the shoulder here, a favor or the wink of an eye there. Not much, really."

Maly tells that the results of the Charta 77 text are mostly seen indirectly.

"When we send writings to the authorities about, for example, the dying forests, the immediate reaction is to call in the spokesmen for interrogation. The police want to know who wrote it, etc."

"But then after a while articles appear in the official propaganda organ. These articles take up the same shortcomings which the Charta writings pointed out."

We stopped for a moment on a bridge over the Moldau.

In almost exactly two months President Reagan and party leader Mikhail Gorbachov will meet in Geneva.

In the western daily papers which I have given to Father Maly, Reagan's aides say that they do not expect to allow Gorbachov to avoid the question of human rights in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe.

Reagan, Shultz and company less frequently express themselves about human rights in El Salvador, South Korea, Chile and the Philippines. They only complain when they are not satisfied with the regime's domestic political orientation.

Human rights have become a political cudgel.

From that standpoint Vaclav Maly is fortunate. He is a critic of the regime in the right society. He has strong defenders.

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Through the eyes of a tourist--seeing what black market currency can buy--the world in which Vaclav Maly lives looks totally acceptable. For him it is hell.

He could live comfortably in any West European city. He could also live comfortably in Czechoslovakia. But he does not.

Why do you make your life so difficult?

"I am a Catholic priest. I am just doing my duty."

The reply is direct, and when he says it he shrugs his shoulders, as if to say that it is nothing special.

Have you never thought of quitting--of just letting it go?

"No, never."

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END